Machines That Built America

ROGER BURLINGAME

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the WILSON reader

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My Mother and Father

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PREFACE

In this little volume I have attempted to present a picture of Woodrow Wilson as he appeared to some of his contemporaries and as he appears today in the brief perspective of thirty years.

Choice of materials—and they are, of course, voluminous—has been governed chiefly by three criteria I have tried to select passages which throw light on Wilson's character and personality, which mark turning points in his career and which highlight his place in history For the most part, Wilson himself speaks in these pages, yet I have included also passages from those who have attempted to delineate his personality and evaluate his achievements Editorial notes are designed to fill in gaps and furnish leads to other sources

Perhaps a word of warning is needed No one is more fully aware than the editor that the effort to present a true picture of a complex personality is at once difficult and elusive. The lights and shadows that play upon the portrait not only reflect judgments of time and place but also mirror the moods and convictions and hidden assumptions of those who seek to evaluate it This seems particularly true of Wilson for he was no ordinary man and he lived in no ordinary time It is only natural, therefore, that his character and personality and his role in helping to shape history should continue to provoke controversy and to elicit the need for repeated assessment

It is hoped that the present volume, inspired by the one hundredth anniversary of Wilson's birth, will help the reader better to understand the man and his [illegible]

[illegible] of gratitude to [illegible] Faculty of the University of Virginia, for generously and patiently

serving as the editor's constant and severest critic throughout the preparation of this volume. It is a pleasure, as well, to acknowledge appreciation to other members of the faculty and colleagues at the University of Virginia: to President Darden for contributing the concluding essay; to Dean of the Law School F. D. G. Ribble and Professor Leslie H. Buckler, Chairman of the Law Library Committee, for their encouragement; to Professor Robert K. Gooch, head of the University's Department of Political Science, for directing the editor to helpful sources, to the University's Librarian Emeritus Harry Clemons, who was Reference Librarian at Princeton during Wilson's presidency there, and whose interest and suggestions have been graciously extended; and finally to the members of the staff of the University's Alderman Library and to my own immediate associates on the Law Library staff, whose individual assistance has reinforced my pride in being one among them. Thanks are due also to Professors of History Thomas A. Bailey, of Stanford University, and Arthur S. Link, of Northwestern University, and to the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation, especially its Vice-President, Mrs. Herbert McK. Smith, of Staunton, Virginia, for their suggestions and assistance. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has been extremely gracious in extending her encouragement and granting permission to reprint material, and to her the editor records sincere appreciation.

F. F.

Charlottesville, Va.
February 15, 1956

WILSON'S LIFE AND WORK

A Biographical Sketch — By the Editor

For the convenience of the reader the editor has attempted to highlight some of the critical aspects of Wilson's life and career which will be elaborated upon throughout this volume. A detailed chronology will be found on page 275

I

Rise to Prominence

Of Scotch Irish descent Woodrow Wilson, christened Thomas Woodrow Wilson, was born in Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856 the third child [illegible]

[illegible]

continue his study and writing entering Johns Hopkins University in 1883 He published his Ph D thesis, *Congressional Government*, an analysis of the federal legislative system in 1885

That same year Wilson was married in Savannah to the daughter of a minister, Ellen Louise Axson, and became a professor at Bryn Mawr College where he remained until 1888 going then to teach at Wesleyan University until 1890 when he became Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton Elected President of Princeton in 1902, he introduced a program of reform *that established him as an outstanding educational statesman*. An effect [illegible]

serving as the editor's constant and severest critic throughout the preparation of this volume. It is a pleasure, as well, to acknowledge appreciation to other members of the faculty and colleagues at the University of Virginia: to President Darden for contributing the concluding essay, to Dean of the Law School F. D. G. Ribble and Professor Leslie H. Buckler, Chairman of the Law Library Committee, for their encouragement, to Professor Robert K. Gooch, head of the University's Department of Political Science, for directing the editor to helpful sources, to the University's Librarian Emeritus Harry Clemons, who was Reference Librarian at Princeton during Wilson's presidency there, and whose interest and suggestions have been graciously extended, and finally to the members of the staff of the University's Alderman Library and to my own immediate associates on the Law Library staff, whose individual assistance has reinforced my pride in being one among them. Thanks are due also to Professors of History Thomas A. Bailey, of Stanford University, and Arthur S. Link, of Northwestern University, and to the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation, especially its Vice-President, Mrs. Herbert McK. Smith, of Staunton, Virginia, for their suggestions and assistance. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has been extremely gracious in extending her encouragement and granting permission to reprint material, and to her the editor records sincere appreciation.

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58. His rise to political prominence had been swift and spectacular.[1]

This rise was followed by a remarkable [illegible] with the exception of Jefferson, no President could boast of so great a success in this respect.[2]

Having asserted in the campaign that he was "more concerned about human rights than about property rights," the new President plagued with poor health in earlier days, actually found the strain of office envigorating. With his "single track mind," to which he so often referred, and his unusual powers of concentration, he compiled an impressive record of reforms that gave the era the name, "The New Freedom." The Federal Reserve System, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff, the Federal Trade Commission, a farm credit program, and labor legislation were among the achievements of an energetic President fully in control of Congress.

"It would be the irony of fate if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs," Wilson remarked just before going to the [illegible] that time, [illegible] that both Wilson and Bryan were ignorant of and indifferent to foreign affairs, that they were fundamentally moralists and missionaries "obsessed with the concept of America's mission in the world" and motivated by "the ambition to do justly, to advance the *cause* of international peace and to give other peoples the blessings of democracy and Christianity."[3]

Early opportunity to exercise this "missionary diplomacy" was offered when troubles arose in Mexico and the Caribbean. In his efforts to deal with Huerta, the Mexican bandit-dictator, Wilson's earlier policy of "watchful waiting" was followed by intervention which took the form of a blockade of the coast, occu-

become impressed with Wilson's inaugural speech as President of Princeton, began efforts to make him the Democratic presidential nominee in 1908 and 1912. The defeat of one of Wilson's programs at Princeton culminating after an early period of brilliant success in the controversy between Wilson and Andrew F West, Dean of the Graduate School and Wilson's nomination and successful campaign for the governorship of New Jersey his establishment of control over the Democratic party in the State of New Jersey, and his remarkable reform program as Governor along with Harvey's efforts combined to bring Wilson prominently to the public's notice as the 1912 campaign approached Before the election however Harvey went over to the opposition having been rebuffed rather bluntly by Wilson who was to lose many of his friends at various periods in his career because of the unfortunate characteristic of speaking too frankly Harvey because of his alignment with Thomas Fortune Ryan was popularly accused of representing "the money interest" When he asked Wilson whether he would feel embarrassed by his continued support Wilson replied in the affirmative On the other hand William Jennings Bryan for whom Wilson had earlier revealed a strong dislike was to join Wilson's followers as the opening of the convention approached It was at this time that Colonel E M House who was to play such a prominent role later in Wilson's life as his close friend and adviser was joining the group of Wilson admirers

By the time the Democratic convention assembled in Baltimore the Republicans had split with Taft as their nominee and Theodore Roosevelt heading a third party Bryan threw his support to Wilson who received the Democratic nomination after forty-six ballots When the election was over Wilson had polled a little over 6 000 000 out of 15 000 000 votes but a landslide in the electoral college where he received 435 out of 531 votes made him the President of the United States On March 4 1913, with his wife and [illegible] daughters he moved into the White House at

56. His rise to political prominence had been swift and spectacular.[1]

This rise was followed by a remarkable capacity, demonstrated early in his administration, of securing Congressional consent for his legislative program. Indeed it has been frequently stated that, with the exception of Jefferson, no President could boast of so great a success in this respect.[2]

Having asserted in the campaign that he was "more concerned about human rights than about property rights," the new President plagued with poor health in earlier days actually found the strain of office envigorating. With his "single track mind," to which he so often referred ... con-centra ... of re-forms ... Free-dom." The Federal Reserve ... Tariff ... President fully in control ...

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pation of Vera Cruz and an expedition to capture Francisco Villa, another bandit revolutionist who at one time had been friendly toward the administration's policies

Following Huerta's fall and the military occupation of Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic Wilson's policy of the good neighbor was incorporated in the Pan-American pact binding the republics of the Western Hemisphere to mutual guarantees of independence and territorial integrity. Despite its failure, this pact did point toward the League of Nations and the "good neighbor policy" of later years.

II

Family Life

Two weddings had taken place in the White House within a little over a year after the Wilsons moved in There were three Wilson daughters, Margaret, Jessie, and Eleanor Jessie was married to Francis B Sayre in November 1913 and Eleanor was married to Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo in May, 1914 *Mrs McAdoo who makes her home in California is the* only daughter still living

Tragedy struck shortly thereafter in the summer of 1914 with the death of Wilson's wife, Ellen Axson Wilson, who was never too happy over having to play a part in public life but who, as a quiet counselor, sustained her husband through many problems at Princeton, Trenton, and during the early days in the White House

It was a warmly hospitable household over which Mrs Wilson presided A gentle per[illegible] and poetry and [illegible] made the [illegible] ary [illegible] se, later at [illegible] thereafter in Cleveland [illegible] e—though not luxurious, a source of comfort and

... [illegible] background for and later her three ... of both Wilson and herself

Stockton Axson, Mrs Wilson's brother, became a member of the household when the Wilsons were at Wesleyan and again when he joined the Princeton faculty Wilson's father, Dr Joseph R. Wilson, to whom the son was so ardently devoted, came to join the household at the death of Wilson's mother The constant and extensive hospitality was maintained on a modest income yet gracefully by Mrs Wilson and the family circle was indeed a happy one. The professor, austere in many respects, enjoyed his evenings and entertained all the members of the household with his ready wit and singing and playing the piano Wilson had told his wife soon after their engagement that he had gained confidence in himself for the first time when he knew that she loved him and he repeated that statement to his wife frequently throughout their life together Mrs Wilson's efforts in making a home at the White House were no less effective and, though she assumed her role

[illegible]

compel my attention and my great safety lies in having my attention absolutely fixed elsewhere than upon myself "[8]

The growing holocaust in Europe was the *matter* upon which the President had to fix his attention Germany had invaded France and Russia had invaded Germany Two weeks later, on August 19, the President made his appeal to the nation to be neutral in action and in thought But the latter was hardly possible with the country teeming with so-called

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It was a warmly hospitable household over which Mrs Wilson presided A gentle person interested in rt and poetry and devoted to her husband and family he made the home at Princeton—first in a library ace later at "Prospect" and thereafter in Cleveland ne—though not luxurious a source of comfort and

pleasure and a delightfully distracting background for a hard working professor lecturer writer, and later President of the University, and for her three daughters as well as a number of in laws of both Wilson and herself

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"hyphenates"—German-Americans and Irish Americans, and the pro-Allies groups Voices of every shade of opinion were clamoring advice to and criticism of the administration

Neutrality became increasingly difficult, confronted, as it was, with the British blockade of the Germans and the Germans' submarine blockade of the British. When the *Lusitania* was torpedoed on May 7, 1915, despite frenzied protests over the loss of 1,100 lives, including 128 Americans, Wilson—still not convinced that the American people were ready for war—dispatched a series of his now historic notes to Germany, the second of which Bryan felt so certainly would bring on war, that he resigned Criticised as "the man in the White House" with the "do-nothing policy," lonely and burdened with almost insurmountable problems of state and wrestling with his conscience, Wilson faced one of the most difficult periods in his life

In the spring of 1915 the Wilson daughters sought to bring to their harassed father whatever relaxation might be snatched from the perplexing daily ordeals Through them and a cousin, Helen Bones, he came to know their friend, Mrs Edith Bolling Galt A native of Virginia and a sympathetic and cheerful woman in her early forties, the widow of a former Washington business man who had traveled extensively in Europe since the death of her husband, Mrs Galt's visits to the White House seemed always to add a note of cheerfulness to the otherwise dark days for the President They met in May, were married on December 18, and in January 1916 Mrs Wilson took her place in the White House to become the closest of all the President's political confidants, even to the not altogether unintentional exclusion of Colonel House and Joseph Tumulty, his secretary from the time he became Governor of New Jersey.

Mrs Wilson relates that during their engagement through daily communications from Wilson she was kept informed of the affairs of state and of his anxieties

and responsibilities—"a partnership," she continues, "of thought and comradeship unbroken to the last day of *his life*."[4] The mounting tension caused by the European situation meant that following their marriage, ... was spent until ... with Wilson sitting ... in October 1917 the greatest secrecy surrounded the correspondence between him and Wilson, only the two of them and Mrs Wilson knowing the code, and she performing the task of coding and decoding the messages *for her husband Thus early association with Wilson's* day to day work set the stage for the more conspicuous role Mrs Wilson was to play in her husband's last *illness*

III

World War I Period

Wilson, who understood Americans' strong emotion- ...

addresses, popularly known as the "Too Proud to Fight" speech, an unfortunate phrase used by Wilson and one at which many people sneered In the same address he had also said "the example of America must be a special example . of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not."[7] This latter statement more nearly ...

French liner, the *Sussex*, resulting in injury to several Americans. Wilson then issued an ultimatum to the effect that, unless the Germans ceased unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States would be forced to break diplomatic relations.

"He kept us out of war" was the slogan which helped to re-elect Wilson in 1916, yet he had not used the phrase and it is unlikely that he believed it. On the contrary, he realized that the United States might be drawn in at any moment. Fearing this, he had appealed to the crowds with great eloquence and urged them to exercise clear and cool thinking. Early on election night in November a Republican victory appeared so assured that some of the leading newspapers conceded to Charles Evans Hughes before midnight, but it was learned thirty-six hours later that Wilson had carried California and so the nation.

There probably exists no more revealing testimony to Wilson's staunch adherence to the principles he believed in and the lessons he taught in government than the letter he addressed to Secretary of State Lansing when he thought he would not win the election in 1916. In that letter he offered to resign the presidency and have T. R. Marshall, the Vice President, resign with him so that the supposedly successful candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, might assume promptly the reins of government.[9]

Wilson made his first peace move on December 18, 1916. This was incorporated in a note addressed to the belligerent governments to state their war aims. He was hoping thereby to bring to bear upon them the pressure of public opinion, but neither the Germans nor the Allies were ready to bargain at this point.

Wilson, still dedicated to finding a basis for peace, on January 22, 1917, delivered before Congress his famous "Peace Without Victory" speech.[9] As Buehrig has put it: "The address . . . was indeed a far cry from the preparedness speeches of a year before. From the narrow base of maritime rights Wilson had shifted to broader foundations relating to the settlement of the war itself."[10] As most historians agree, neutral-

rights provided a slim base on which to balance so broad a principle, but the submarine warfare indicated that Germany intended to dictate peace on her own terms and thereby relieved Wilson of the necessity of explaining the apparent incongruity in his policy.[11]

However, the Germans had already dispatched their answer when Wilson was speaking. Dated February 1, 1917, their note announced that all enemy and neutral ships would be subject to deliberate destruction. Two years earlier, in 1915, when they had declared waters around Great Britain and Ireland a war zone wherein merchantmen would be liable to destruction, Wilson had replied that, should Germany destroy any merchantmen of the United States or cause the death of American citizens the United States would view it as an act of "indefensible violation of neutral rights"[12] Now the Germans had made a bolder announcement.

On February 3 the President went before Congress stating that he did not believe the Germans would undertake overt acts but, that if they did, he would call upon Congress to take appropriate steps

On March 31 the Zimmermann note broke in the press The German foreign minister, Dr. Arthur Zimmermann, had cabled the German foreign minister in Mexico that if war broke out with the United States he should seek a Mexican alliance, inviting Japan to join and offering New Mexico, Texas and Arizona as bait Then three armed United States merchantmen, the *Vigilancia*, the *Illinois*, and the *City of Memphis*, were torpedoed by submarines and the overt act against which the country had been warned had occurred

In his speech of April 2, President Wilson recommended to Congress that it pass a resolution recognizing a state of war In his own mind he considered that the United States had been forced into war despite its efforts to remain neutral He concluded that since autocracy was to blame the only major hope left was to prevent future autocracies from waging war and hence he declared—in a phrase that was soon

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to reverberate around the world—that we would go to war *"to make the world safe for democracy"* His recommendation to go to war was carried by a joint resolution of Congress The resolution was approved by the President on April 6

As a war leader" according to Thomas A Bailey, "Wilson achieved what was probably his greatest triumph in public life. The man and the hour providentially met Endowed with a fine voice and a splendid platform presence blessed with a gift of telling phrase and radiating the sincere spiritual fervor of his Presbyterian forbears he aroused the American people from their apathy and launched them on a crusade of unprecedented power [13]

The "War Cabinet" was composed of Herbert Hoover as food administrator Bernard Baruch for industry Hurley for shipping Garfield for fuel, Vance McCormick head of the War Trade Board and McAdoo in charge of the Treasury and the railroads George Creel headed the Committee on Public Information Thus was the period of the "meatless" and "heatless" days "gasless" Sundays and "liberty loans"

As he had done in the past Wilson was seeking after the declaration of war in April to forge public opinion by his persuasive expression of lofty ideals "But" Bailey states "there doubtless is some truth in the charge that Wilson became hypnotized by the eloquence of his own fascinating phrases"[14]

On January 8 1918, Wilson speaking to Congress delivered his famous speech on "The Fourteen Points" stating that we were fighting for open diplomacy freedom of the seas breaking of economic barriers reduction of armaments fair adjustment of territorial claims, and finally an association of nations to guarantee peace Although the speech was widely acclaimed opposition was also voiced, the full force of which did not become evident until later It is generally agreed, however that the things Wilson proposed seemed so right and just that German morale thereafter weakened steadily

By this time the American for

million men in France were striking in the field with a well-equipped and confident army. The German High Command, earlier contemptuous, first weakened, and then sought peace based on the Fourteen Points which Wilson had outlined.

IV

The War Ends

When the first German note of October 6 ...

refused to listen.

Charles Seymour in his volume, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, states that "It is almost certain that had Germany appealed to anyone else but Wi... Poin... mour ... and ...

... army, into the prelude of German surrender It was not so much shrewdness on Wilson's part as a simple adherence to straightforward ideas."[14]

"From a moral point of view," says Bailey, "he [Wilson] could do no other than grasp this opportunity to

bring the bloody conflict to a speedy and honorable end"[17] As fate would have it, though, it was this failure to heed the popular course that resulted in *Wilson's loss of the control of Congress in the elections* held in November 1918 the week before the signing of the Armistice in a railway car in Compiègne

When Wilson heading the American delegation, set sail on the *George Washington* in December 1918 to attend the Peace Conference in Paris he knew that the war's end was only the first step toward peace and that a long struggle lay ahead The American people had been shocked at Wilson's announcement in mid November that he would go to Paris and they were shocked even more when he announced the names of the delegates to the Peace Conference Wilson heading the group had appointed Lansing, Secretary of State Colonel House Wilson's personal adviser Henry White an experienced but at that time a relatively unknown diplomat and General Tasker H Bliss a military expert and member of the Supreme War Council in Paris Criticism came quickly from Republicans and from others who felt that Wilson had not appointed men of outstanding calibre It is generally conceded that Wilson's domestic political strategy at this point was not astute especially as he failed to include representation from the Senate Furthermore when he addressed Congress immediately before sailing for Europe he was notably vague about what he planned to do in Europe

By this time Wilson had voiced the aspirations of most of the peoples of the warring nations and they undoubtedly looked to him for the fulfillment of their desires As one writer puts it "History has not recorded so great a mass faith in the work of a single individual as Woodrow Wilson inspired at the end of 1918"[18] This was manifested immediately upon his arrival in France when on December 13 he rode down the Champs Elysees cheered and acclaimed by some two million people

The Paris Peace Conference did not commence until January 12 1919 and it was on January 18 that

the first plenary session was held. The Council of Ten, which grew out of the Allied Supreme War Council, was composed of two delegates each from the five powers Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States In March the Council of Four, or as it ca[illegible]
Ge[illegible]

physical and mental powers While he realized that [illegible]

world and backward areas

Before returning to the United States for a brief *period Wilson had successfully waged a fight for his* mandate principle and for the inclusion in the Treaty of the League of Nations Covenant It was on January 22, 1919 that the Council of Ten voted favorably on the Covenant being a part of the Treaty and on January 25 the plenary session of the Conference passed this as its first resolution

V

The Fight for the League of Nations

[illegible] 14 1919, Wilson read the final and [illegible] before [illegible] npanied [illegible] "a living thing is [illegible] life was [illegible] d, for it was Wilson's [illegible] d Article

X of the Covenant which defeated the treaty in the United States

Having been out of the country for two and one-half months and Congress ready to adjourn Wilson had to return for administrative matters and to explain the Covenant of the League to the American people According to announced plans he was to land in Boston and there deliver a speech By this time angered Senators neglected in the making of the Treaty in Europe had already begun their opposition —with Senators Lodge Borah and Poindexter leading the fight

This opposition assumed greater proportions at the appearance of the so-called "Round Robin" a document signed by thirty nine Republican Senators the exact number needed to defeat the Treaty This paper announced that the Covenant of the League was not acceptable to the signatories in its present form that the Peace Conference should first make the peace with Germany and leave the matter of the League for later deliberation The issue thereby was drawn between Wilson and the Senate and thereafter it became a long and bitter struggle

Before embarking upon his return to Europe early in March, President Wilson delivered a speech at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York in which he said he was returning to the Conference and that he would not return to the United States "til its over, over there" He was directing his remarks straight at the Senate and the members of that body responded in angry tones

Upon reaching Brest in March 1919 Wilson went into conference immediately with Colonel House even before the official party left the ship Mrs Wilson records that this marked a serious crisis in the President's life When he emerged Mrs Wilson reports that she was shocked at the President's appearance for he seemed to have aged ten years Wilson explained

"House has given away everything I had won before we left Paris He has compromised on every side and

so I have to start all *over* again and this time it will be harder, as he has given the impression that my delegates are *not in sympathy* with me His own explanation of his compromise is that, with a hostile press in the United States expressing disapproval of the League of Nations as a part of the Treaty, he thought *it* best to yield some other points lest the conference withdraw its approval altogether So he has yielded until there is nothing left."[18]

Specifically the Conference had pressed *toward* a military and economic treaty, leaving the League for later consideration Wilson hastened to issue his March 15 press statement, declaring that the Conference had voted for the Covenant *as a part of* the Treaty and he would stand on that.

While Wilson was engaged in *retrieving* the situation in Europe House and Lord Robert Cecil, a British diplomat who strongly favored the League, were seeking constantly to persuade him at the same time to be less adamant and to accept some com

[illegible]

April 28 1919 unanimously approved a somewhat revised Covenant with its twenty six articles The revised Covenant included the well known exception dealing with the Monroe Doctrine inserted in an effort to satisfy Wilson's own countrymen This concession naturally opened the way for other regional concessions on security matters for which Clemenceau and others had been pressing

Despite the many concessions the League *survived* as an integral part of the Treaty and it was Wilson's hope that any unjust terms thus ultimately could be corrected Nevertheless when the Conference was finally over both France and Italy were infuriated—a situation that reversed all the European acclaim which Wilson had received when they were looking to him as their one source of help

The ceremony for the signing of the Treaty was held in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Louis XIV

at Versailles on June 28 1919 The harshness of the Treaty made the Germans extremely bitter toward the United States and Wilson the French were disappointed over the handling of the Saar question and the Italians equally disgruntled and even bitter over the resolution of the issue of Fiume

Wilson's friendship with House seems to have suffered as a result of the crisis which developed when the President had returned to Paris When Wilson sailed for the United States late in June he and House saw each other for the last time It was on that occasion that Wilson said "I[illegible] ave found one can never get [illegible] worthwhile without [illegible] eply that "Anglo Saxo[illegible] t upon compromise" Bailey quot[illegible] these statements comments that "into these few words were compressed the divergent viewpoints of the two men"[20]

VI

The Aftermath

Wilson returned to meet the bitterest opposition he had ever faced He had failed to realize that although they appeared to be generally in favor of the League the American people did not understand the fundamental issues involved

When Senators Lodge Knox Fall Borah and Johnson led the fight against the Treaty with Article X their chief target Wilson decided to take his case to the American people The intensive work in Europe had broken his health and when his personal physician Admiral Grayson warned him that his projected speaking tour through the West would endanger his life Wilson ignored the advice On September 3 1919 Wilson left Washington scheduled to make some forty addresses Speaking day and night he

found the audiences receptive and believing they were were beginning to be convinced, Wilson began to press harder It was then that the strain began to take its toll Grayson warned again but Wilson refused to heed the advice He was stricken, after a lengthy speech, in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, 1919,

[illegible]

edith, Agriculture, Palmer, Attorney-General, and Payne, Interior

Of Wilson's collapse Bailey has this to say·

> "The genius of a Sophocles or a Shakespeare never created a tragedy more poignant than that of Woodrow Wilson. Elevated to a pinnacle hitherto unattained by mortal man, glimpsing the promised land of perpetual peace, he suffered physical collapse,
>
> [illegible]
>
> results in the long run would have been happier for all concerned Wilson himself was a fighter, he had lived a full life and he would have hoped for no more [illegible] fight [illegible] most [illegible] pened, [illegible] martyr [illegible] 31

lthough his mind, following the illness, was not basically affected, it did not reflect its former alertness, yet his stubborness seems never to have abated. The story of the [illegible] Treaty n th[illegible] [illegible] Wil[illegible] [illegible] yielding [illegible] n. The

opposing forces were made up of the isolationists, the so called "hyphenates" and an effective liberal element The liberal group was supported by such publications as the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, the latter of which had been formerly a staunch advocate of Wilson s liberal views It was this publication which ran serially in its columns John Maynard Keynes book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* which bitterly denounced Wilson and the Treaty The liberals who had paved the way for domestic reform in Wilson s early administration were strangely enough among the most effective in throw ing up an insurmountable roadblock in the path of international reform

A strong partisanship that failed to implement effectively the age old Anglo Saxon principle of com promise combined with ignorance and indifference were too strong an opposition to be overcome this time by Wilson's great "ace in the hole"—his eloquent and oratorical appeal to the people He had raised his voice when the war was on and the response had been overwhelming Now in peace he again launched his appeal to the people on the Western Tour—even to the point of defying the spectre of death—but un fortunately the peoples idealism appeared exhausted and their answer this time was not forthcoming

Finally broken in body and to a lesser degree mentally Wilson given another chance when the Treaty came before the Senate a second time was too embittered and perhaps too proud of his author ship of the Covenant of the League and of his prerog atives as the Executive to be willing to submit to any reservations

The Treaty referred to the Senates Foreign Rel ations Committee after its presentation by Wilson personally on July 10 1919 was not reported on until September 10 Wilsons collapse followed two weeks later and the stroke came on October 2 It was not until October 20 that he was able to sign a few papers and on November 17 he was taken for a short while to the White House lawn in a wheelchair

The question as to why Wilson did not resign or

of the

; called at the White House to suggest that it should be arranged to have the Vice-President act, whereupon Tumulty replied that "if anybody outside of the White House circle attempted to certify to the President's disability, that Grayson and I would stand together and repudiate it."[12]

Mrs Wilson in defense of her position declares "Woodrow Wilson was first my beloved husband

ters that required attention and with Dr. Grayson's advice presented them in digested form whenever the President was able to hear them. All the while Tumulty was standing by just outside the sick room. Bailey sums up the situation when he says that "If

Senator Lodge who with eight other Republicans signed the majority report of the Foreign Relations Committee, submitted fourteen reservations to the Treaty. In his preamble Lodge stated that the United States'

(which Wilson had de-

clared was the heart of the Treaty), provided that the United States assumed no obligation to preserve independence or territorial integrity of any other country, or to employ its armed forces for such purpose unless Congress so provides These were the two changes on which Wilson refused to give in

Actually Article X was permissive[5] and international lawyers have agreed that it may have been unnecessary As Bailey so aptly puts it, "It is difficult at this distance to understand why Wilson should have been determined to block all compromise and with it the Treaty over the Lodge reservation to Article X Actually the more important articles which provided the machinery and the teeth of the League were left untouched or virtually untouched"[6]

The remainder of the story is one of irreconciable deadlock Even Mrs Wilson and Bernard Baruch, one of the President's closest friends urged compromise Mrs Wilson records how when she urged the President on this score he gave her the answer that finally convinced her such action would be wrong "Better a thousand times" said Wilson from his sick bed "to go down fighting than to dip your colors to dishonorable compromise"[7] The staunch covenanter was still adamant and he felt even then as he later indicated that ultimately public opinion would prevail to break the deadlock

It is not necessary to our story to analyze the political alignments at this critical juncture Suffice it to say that on November 18 Senator Hitchcock sent to Wilson a letter from Senator Walsh of Montana stating that the Democrats felt there was enough left of the Treaty even with the Lodge reservations to Article X to avoid nullification but that the Democrats would follow the President's directive In reply Wilson addressed his fateful letter to Hitchcock which directed the Democrats to vote down the Treaty And so on the basis of that communication ratification was lost

When the vote came the Treaty with the reservations was voted down the vote being 39 ayes and 55 —

nays. The Democrats with the support of thirteen Republican "irreconcibles" had voted against the Treaty and won. Underwood then moved approval of the Treaty without any reservations, but that motion was defeated by 38 to 53, the Democrats voting "aye" and the Republicans joining the "irreconcibles."

Then came the letter from Wilson prepared for the Jackson Day celebration and dinner in Washington. It was addressed to Homer Cummings, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and stated that Wilson refused to accept the Senate's action as the nation's decision and that, if there were a doubt on this score, the Treaty should be submitted to the people through "a great and solemn referendum." Formal ratification of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany took place in Paris two days [illegible] United States was not represented.

[illegible] Demo- [illegible] ective [illegible] ount of 1920.

It was about this time that the break with Secretary of State Lansing was taking place and the publication of the correspondence between Wilson and Lansing followed. Wilson had written the Secretary asking if it were true that he had been holding Cabinet meetings during Wilson's illness. Lansing replied that a number of meetings had been held to carry on necessary details, and then he offered to resign. Wilson indicated that Lansing had usurped authority, that the Cabinet could not take official action without the President, that these acts only confirmed his earlier distrust of Lansing, and that he would accept the Secretary's resignation. Though Lansing defended [illegible] succeeded by [illegible]

[illegible] who were entering in a settlement of the Fiume controversy with Italy on a basis different from that

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House and it was there that, as a private citizen, Wilson spent his last years and where Mrs Wilson continues to reside.

Mrs Wilson details a poignant account of those later days with the former President being ministered to by her tender care and that of faithful servants. Despite failing eyesight and ebbing strength, Wilson still attempted to work at his typewriter and finally resorted to dict
would come to
her to record
they were set
entitled "Philo
early days ar
"P.o P.," was never written

The principal diversions of Mr and Mrs Wilson were motor rides and almost regular attendance at Keith's Theater, where the audience having become accustomed to th r arrival

had met
Wilson
believing that in the long run history would prove him right. In this assurance Wilson without bitterness seems to have lived out his last days sustained by that which had supported his faith all through his life and work—his steadfast belief in the people and the ultimate vindication of his principles

One of the most revealing portraits of Wilson's quiet faith in his life's great work is the account given by Dr Howard Chandler Robbins, then Dean of the Cathedral of St John the Divine who, accompanied by Norman H Davis visited Wilson in his home only a month before his death. According to Mrs Wilson, Dr Robbins stated

"Mr Davis and I spoke of
be the mo
try wi
Wilson

originally agreed upon In his statement Wilson dogmatically stated that, if the Allies did not carry out the agreement as originally agreed upon, he would see that the matter of ratification of the Treaty in the Senate of the United States was withdrawn

Both of these actions on Wilson's part helped to sway the country away from his position of ratification Finally, on March 8 the President addressed a second letter to Hitchcock in the Senate again announcing the fact that in his opinion the reservations meant nullification and again asking the Democrats to vote down the Treaty

The vote came on March 19, 1920 The Treaty had failed

VII

Closing Years

The final year of Wilson's incumbency was in striking contrast to the preceding years of dramatic activity On April 13 1920 he attended his first Cabinet meeting following his illness In July he issued the formal call for the first meeting of the League of Nations to be held in Geneva on November 15 In December Wilson received the award of the Nobel *Peace Prize*

Despite ill health and disappointment the President did not withdraw altogether from political conflicts It was during this period that he vetoed a joint resolution of Congress calling for the extension of the duration of the War Finance Corporation and on March 3 Wilson performed his last official act by defeating an emergency tariff bill The following day March 4, 1921 President Elect Warren G Harding was inaugurated

The Wilsons purchased a home on "S" Street in Washington which had been made ready for occupancy by the time of his retirement from the White

[10] Buehrig, Edward H., *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power* p. [illegible]

[illegible]

[14] *Ibid.*, p 18

[15] Seymour, Charles, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, pp 311-312

[16] Ibid., pp 313-314

[17] Bailey, *The Lost Peace*, p 41

[18] Leth, David, *The Story of Woodrow Wilson*, p. 35

[19] Wilson, Edith Bolling *My Memoir*, p 248

[20] Bailey, Thomas A., *The Lost Peace*, pp 307-308

[21] Bailey, Thomas A., *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, pp 136-137

[22] Tumulty, Joseph P., *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him*, p 444

[illegible] Mrs. Wilson that been [illegible] on would kill him

[23] Wilson, Edith Bolling *My Memoir*, p 290

[24] Bailey, *The Great Betrayal*, p 137

[illegible]

threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise [illegible]

[29] Ibid., p 344.

at him in surprise, and then he went on to explain that if, by his personal influence, he had been able to secure the acceptance by this country of the Covenant, and its entry into the League of Nations, it would have been a great personal and political triumph 'But,' he added, 'as it is coming now, the American people are thinking their way through, and reaching their own free decision, and that is the better way for it to come'

"Those were his words, as nearly as I can recollect them Nothing could have been more moving than the sight of that stricken figure uncomplaining, so full of noble fortitude, looking forward with unshaken confidence to the time when his beloved country would in its own way vindicate his hope, and take its full and great and helpful place in world affairs" [29]

Wilson made his last public appearance on Armistice Day, November 11, 1923 When he died on February 3, 1924, a crowd of strangers knelt in prayer outside his home

NOTES

[1] Link, Arthur S., *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, p 8

[2] Bell, H C. F, *Woodrow Wilson and the People*, p 99

[3] Baker, Ray Stannard, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*, IV, 55

[4] Link, pp 81-82.

[5] Baker, IV, 57

[6] Wilson, Edith Bolling, *My Memoir*, p 82.

[7] Baker, Ray Stannard and William E Dodd (eds) *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, The New Democracy, I, 318-322.

[8] [illegible]

begin."

[9] *Public Papers*, The New Democracy, II, 407-414

[14] Buehrig, Edward H., Woodrow Wilson and the *Balance* Power, p. 283.

32.

[14] Ibid., p. 18

[15] Seymour, Charles, *American Diplomacy During the World* War pp. 311-312.

[16] Ibid., pp. 313-314.

[17] Bailey, The Lost Peace, p. 41

Great

Br

Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him, p. 441

Calling attention to the fact that Mrs. Wilson "has been accused of a thirst for power," Thomas A. Bailey, in The Great *Betrayal*, p. 139, reasons that "It is more probable that since

of the Covenant of the League reads as follows "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external agression the territorial in-tegrity

the Le

threat

upon

[27] Edith Bolling, *My Memoir*, p. 297

[28] Ibid., p. 303.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Part I

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

In Honor Of

THE LATE PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

BY EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN

Dr Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, 1904-1931, in response to an invitation extended by a Committee of the Congress, delivered the address, reprinted below from 66 Congressional Record 623-635 (1924) before a Joint Session of the Two Houses on December 15, 1924

In his oration in memory of the first Athenians who fell in the Peloponnesian War, Pericles commended

deed only, and that the reputation of many should never depend upon the judgment or want of it of one, and their virtue exalted or not, as he spoke, well or ill I can, in some faint measure, comprehend what was passing in the mind of the great Athenian as I stand here to-day, in this chamber which has often resounded with his own lucid eloquence, to seek to make clear in brief speech the character and achievements of Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President of the United States

In the case of a statesman, all experience warns us not to attempt to fix his final place in history until the generation that knew him and loved him, or hated him, shall have passed away and a new genera-

[illegible] have [illegible] with [illegible] with [illegible] yalty [illegible] d duty and reverence none the less urge us to set [illegible] wn, while memory is clear and events are fresh, [illegible] hat we know of men upon whom their fellow men [illegible] aced great burdens of power, to whom whole races [illegible] d nations turned in moments of peril and disaster, [illegible] d upon whose decisions, from time to time, rested [illegible] e courses of history Woodrow Wilson was such a [illegible]

[illegible] in his lifetime than the fame of any of his prede- [illegible]

[illegible] the fountain of its idealism, and Lincoln, [illegible]

[illegible] apparently forgot their fear of tyranny [illegible] hen they created the Presidency and seemed to [illegible] roceed on the principle that if you place immense [illegible] uthority in a man's hands you kill his greed for [illegible] surpation and awake in him a magic capacity and [illegible] solemn purpose to transform his weaknesses into [illegible] strength and his unworthiness into worthiness

Some American Presidents have been commonplace men but none of them has ever betrayed his trust or stained his honour and from George Washington to the present hour the line of American Presidents has surpassed in character, ability and devotion any line of kings and prime ministers known to me in modern history. They have not always been scholars indeed, few of them have been scholars, but when

awaken the pride of his countrymen and to command the attention of the world

I do the day's work at the University of Virginia, where Woodrow Wilson "learned the law and the reason thereof" It came to pass that we were associated in the task of training youth, and I became his friend by reason of the ties that bind men together in such endeavour; and further, because I thought I saw in him, in a new era in the evolution of American democracy, a promise of liberal leadership and of sympathy that never slept for the disadvantaged men who bear the burdens of the world The sturdiest romantic tradition of American public life has been the rise into power and fame of the youth who struggled up to his heights from humble and unlovely beginnings The career of Woodrow Wilson is no part of such tradition, for his racial inheritances and cultural opportunities were about as strong and fine as an American youth can have His [illegible]

[illegible]

the direction of a kindling imagination and a quickened joy of life and battle by Celtic admixture and resilience His parents, his ancestors on both sides, and his associates on all sides were religious men and women of Presbyterian faith

He was the son, as I have said, of a Presbyterian minister of such distinction that it was in his house [illegible]

[illegible] He mar- [illegible] of a Pres- [illegible] Woodrow, [illegible] d, doughty [illegible] odrow, was [illegible]

was under Presbyterian influences and in Presbyterian colleges—Davidson College North Carolina and Princeton the college of New Jersey Later, at the University of Virginia in the study of law and at Johns Hopkins University in the study of politics and jurisprudence he was to broaden his training and to establish a just claim as the most carefully educated man whom the people of this democracy somewhat wary of learning and fearful lest intellectual subtlety dull the edge of common understanding ever dared to place at the head of the Government

Chester A Arthur Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson alone of our long presidential line issued out of the preacher's home into public life Cleveland and Wilson may be called the direct contributions of the Presbyterian manse to the Nation's service and it is not without significance that the only two great successes since 1860 of the Democratic Party in which they now rank as titular saints were achieved under their leadership They were quite dissimilar in background and qualities as a curious fate which opposed them to each other face to face in dour antagonism in later life made very clear but alike in *the firmness of their wills the fixity of their conclusions* and the sensitiveness of their consciences *Surely the great religious faith that sent forth these* two American Presidents is justified of its children

Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton Virginia, in the year 1856 in the middle period of the 19th Century and with the exception of his undergraduate years at Princeton the first twenty nine years of his life were passed in five Southern States in the study of literature history and jurisprudence He did not obtain at any of the colleges in which he studied a high reputation as a technical scholar There surrounds his college career a legend of mature culture an impression of pursuing a steadfast aim in realms of thought not included in the curriculum an air of self reliance untouched by *eccentricity or exclusiveness* for he could be gay and charming with the choicest of his fellows and [illegible]

in the rough and tumble of college affairs. He had a way, even in youth, of moving amid the things of the mind and of demeaning himself in the society of books as if they had always been friends of his and ... going with them The habit ... rever- ... of the ... high- ... youth, ... n and ... use in action The era in which he grew to manhood and the mood of the society in which his formative years were passed did much to fashion his ideals and to determine his ambitions

... of opposing political schools His early youth was passed away from, yet in the midst of, the tumult of the war which lay inherent in the logic of that debate I am loath to praise any war, for all war is the col- ...

... destined to be the Commander in Chief of all the forces of the undivided Republic in the greatest war of all time illustrates alike the calmness of his own mind and the sincerity of the mighty struggle itself ...

... regnant figure of Robert E. Lee, long after the war, stirred the emotions of his young heart, but there was developed in him ...

... forces toward the fulfilment of the longings of democratic society.

was under Presbyterian influences and in Presbyteri colleges—Davidson College North Carolina a Princeton the college of New Jersey Later at t University of Virginia in the study of law and Johns Hopkins University in the study of politics a jurisprudence he was to broaden his training and establish a just claim as the most carefully educat man whom the people of this democracy somewh wary of learning and fearful lest intellectual subtle dull the edge of common understanding ever dar to place at the head of the Government

Chester A Arthur Grover Cleveland and Woodro Wilson alone of our long presidential line issued o of the preacher's home into public life Clevela and Wilson may be called the direct contributions the Presbyterian manse to the Nation's service ar it is not without significance that the only two gre successes since 1860 of the Democratic Party which they now rank as titular saints were achieve under their leadership They were quite dissimilar i background and qualities as a curious fate whic opposed them to each other face to face in dou antagonism in later life made very clear but alike i the firmness of their wills the fixity of their conclu sions and the sensitiveness of their consciences Surely the great religious faith that sent forth thes two American Presidents is justified of its children

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yet to stretch over thirty seven years, and he was to spend twenty five of those years in teaching American ... ment in four different insti-

teacher, educational administrator, and writer of books It was not the training adapted to equip for his work a prophet of force or a master of political intrigue Ulysses would not have prescribed it for Telemachus nor Machiavelli for his prince, but I fancy that all of us who hold the democratic faith will one day be grateful for these studious, reflective years in the life of Woodrow Wilson when he pondered over the comparative merit of forms of govern- ... practical mind

It was in the still air of these laborious days that he reflected how to get things done after the fashion of his dreaming when he nurtured enthusiasm for men and saw himself as their servant, when, looking deep into the life of the social organism, he saw that not ideas but ideals conquered men's souls when he learned calmness from Wordsworth, concentration of energy from Walter Bagehot, and with Edmund Burke discovered the real difference between a states man and a pretender in the circumstance that one lives by the way and acts on expediency, the other ... immortal ... when

the basis of a fame which one day

Full high advanced,
... streaming to the wind.

He was of the group of young Southern born men who knew the contributions of the South to American history who had no apologies to offer for its part in the great struggle ennobled by so much valour and self sacrifice but who felt that the South must again become wholeheartedly a part of the Federal Union it had done so much to establish He saw about his hearthstone the faces of grim men who were subjected to such a test of manhood as our poor human nature has seldom been forced to endure They were not men of the broadest social imagination but they were men of intense and romantic loyalties to causes and of an elevation of thought about the State as something to love and serve and not something to batten on or to profit by War did not unfold to him in his far Southern home any of its marching splendours and waving banners He saw only the filthy backwash of war its ruin and its bitterness cities in ashes ignoramuses in power revenge in action and great leaders led away to imprisonment and obloquy

It is true that he heard the civil struggle ended upon a sweet clear note of "charity to all and malice to none" and nothing in his life shows the balance of his mind better than his quiet perception of the fact that to his youth a challenge had come to help complete unfinished social and moral tasks unpoisoned by hate and unwasted by vengeance It might well have been within the Almighty's inscrutable purpose to give such a man such a preparation and such a social background for a supreme far-off test when a distraught world would have sore need of the man of faith and will who would see clearly and reason accurately and who would not falter or turn back when once he had set his feet upon a path

Woodrow Wilson was twenty nine years old when he quit the formal life of a college student One may treat as negligible the single year he spent vainly seeking to use a mind absorbed in the philosophy of law and its application to government in the gainful practice of that profession The span of his life was

yet to stretch over thirty seven years, and he was to spend twenty five of those years in teaching American

teacher educational administrator and writer of books It was not the training adapted to equip for his work a prophet of force or a master of political intrigue Ulysses would not have prescribed it for Telemachus nor Machiavelli for his prince but I fancy that all of us who hold the democratic faith will one day be grateful for these studious reflective years in the life of Woodrow Wilson, when he pondered over the comparative merit of forms of government and modes of culture when his practical mind, with its adventurous and romantic passion for action received unfolding for a mighty purpose

It was in the still air of these laborious days that

ued into the life of the social organism, he saw that not ideas but ideals conquered men's souls when he learned calmness from Wordsworth, concentration of energy from Walter Bagehot and with Edmund Burke discovered the real difference between a statesman and a pretender in the circumstance that one lives by the way and acts on expediency the other lives on principles and acts for immortality when he came to see faith as life's most substantial heroism and finally pursuing a lonely road gained a wide luminous view of this world as a world ordered of God, moved by the tides of His spirit, and thus laid the basis of a fame, which one day

> Full high advanced,
> Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind.

to gain his ends, the arousing of his passion for democracy, and the fixing of his purpose to rescue [illegible] from material control. He was born to fight [illegible] ings, and [illegible] freedom [illegible] e precise moment when a great tide of liberal hope and opinion was flowing in and over a generation of self-satisfaction and contentment with things as they are. Unlike most cultivated Southerners of his generation, Woodrow Wilson had the impulse to write as well as to talk and became a writer of eminence fit to claim a place in the literature of his country along with Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

At twenty nine he published his first book, "Congressional Government," a postgraduate thesis, revealing the actual operations of our government and outlining with a touch of genius his theory of the wisest and most efficient relation of the Executive to Congress. This book contained a definite system of political philosophy which he put into practice and to which he clung to the end of his career. In this respect a likeness to Thomas Jefferson appears, for each of them had developed before he entered office, a definite theory of government and applied its doctrines to the solution of national problems. A series of six volumes on political and historical subjects—"Congressional Government. A Study in American Politics," "The State. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," "Division and Reunion," "George Washington," "A History of the American People," "Constitutional Government in the United States," and five volumes of literary and social studies—"An Old Master and O[illegible] ture and Other [illegible] Freedom," "When [illegible] from his pen in these days. It is impossible to read these books without concluding that the guiding motive of all his studies pointed toward political life and the goal of political office.

The opportunity to enter politics seemed worlds

Woodrow Wilson was the first professional teacher to pass almost directly from the classroom to the White House Thousands of Americans to-day recall with gratitude his high gifts as a teacher and as a fellow teacher I would care to commemorate that element of his enduring service to his countrymen To me and to the hosts of those who teach in this land those quiet busy years at Princeton as a teacher characterized by great personal happiness in a home of culture of intense charm energy, and growing insight seem to constitute his real golden age Large classes flocked to his lecture hall to applaud his varied knowledge and to gain from him new phases of life and truth There was beauty in the cadences of his voice and power to arouse and persuade the intellect in the clarity and orderliness of his talk brightened by bland humour and tingling wit When he entered upon the presidency of Princeton a new aspect of his qualities appeared It was clear that he had thought deeply of the meaning of education and of universities as moulding forces in a democracy The problem of education was to him the problem of enriching the Nation s life with minds of maturity integrity of character and social sympathy "What a man ought never to forget with regard to a college" he once said at Swarthmore "is that it is a nursery of honour and principle" He inaugurated new principles of educational contact which now lie at the core of the development not alone of his own university but of all institutions of liberal culture in his country

A dramatic struggle marked by unusual phases of bitterness and ill will characterized his administrative career at Princeton Universities are little worlds in themselves and like the greater world about them have a way of refusing to be reformed and of preferring to be let alone or to be reborn into new aims and processes only under tremendous pressure and the passage of slow time The total effect on him of all this academic warfare was the hardening of his resolution, the acquisition of formidable political skill

became President of the United States on March 4, 1913

In 1916 he was renominated and re-elected in the very midst of the greatest crisis in the secular history of mankind. I am conscious that I am summing up,

Abraham Lincoln from a main-street, second-story law office to unimagined burdens of authority. Both stories will for ever enrich and adorn the epic of democracy

Woodrow Wilson once said that the true teacher or the true artist or historian must always work for the whole impression. Working in this spirit, I cannot, at this time and place, attempt even to enumerate the legislative measures which, under his leadership, went forward in the Sixty third Congress, but I venture to claim that no such well thought-out programme of financial, social, and industrial reform, no such inspiring spectacle of governmental efficiency and concentrated energy, no such display of fearless devotion to public interests moving high above the plane of partisan advantage or of private gain, has been

who had not only the will and purpose to change the note of industrial life in the Nation and to halt

restoration of equality of opportunity The Congress that furnished the teamwork in this memorable period of legislative energy was admirable and intelligent,

liberal thought of modern, self-governing communities

But war came, apparently falling out of the blue, like some tragic drama of the high gods, upon a busy and peaceful people, bent upon working out here in a favoured land some scheme of life by which every man should have liberty, without hindrance, to be what God made him. In reality, there had arrived the moment of explosion of confined passions [illegible]

ance of power, rather than reason and concert of action. In the twinkling of an eye, our gain getting age became a brawling age of terror and revolution, to be thought of hereafter as the end of an old epoch and the beginning of a new epoch in human annals.

It has been often predicted that this greatest drama in history must needs be one day really written as a drama by some Aeschylus who will paint the darkening sky, the rushing of the wind, the tension of the time as catastrophe leapt to catastrophe, the movements of the bewildered antagonists amid the muttering of the storm and the lightning In such a drama alone could one hope to find a just portrait of the peace-loving figure of the American scholar President, as he lifts his shoulders to the burdens, seeks to readjust his mind and nature, absorbed in purposes of new freedom for common men, to the tasks of the dreadful hour, and with tragic loneliness and patience grapples with events.

I saw President Wilson for the last time in the fullness of his strength on the evening of April 2, 1917 He was standing at this desk, speaking the

but leadership lay in the President, not by use of patronage or by social amenities, but by the steady drive of intellectual force which his opponents within and without his party could not resist

The new President concluded his first inaugural with these words

> The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people whether we be indeed their spokesman and interpreter whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action This is not a day of triumph it is a day of dedication I summon all honest men all patriotic all forward looking men to my side God helping me I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

Passionate sincerity shines out of these moving words It was a spiritual moment in our history Men were looking at life with kinder and juster eyes A new spokesman of humanity endowed with power to diagnose the causes of domestic derangement had appeared *in our politics with a will and a purpose* and a programme An eager and a nipping air seemed to blow away the atmosphere of materialism which had in varying degree hung over the Capitol since Lincoln's day Not since Jefferson had a leader with such a programme *dwelt at Washington If in seven*teen months a world war had not come to turn the thoughts of mankind to the defence of civilization itself, it is not immoderate to believe that the great reforms already inaugurated would have been followed by others equally *vital, and the domestic policy* of the Nation ordered in accordance with the best

plications and unaware of the new international position decided for them, in Theodore Roosevelt's words, by fate and the march of events Even the [illegible] who grasped the truth that the war was [illegible]

end in itself held no [illegible] no power to confuse his judgment, as his course in Mexico and his Mobile declaration had shown. I [illegible]

the position of moral responsibility imposed upon the United States and to so place its power at the service [illegible]

and I find in them an amazing strength and unity. I am not troubled by the inconsistency of his early advocacy of peace and his later proclamation of "force to the limit," for there is no inconsistency.

[illegible] that the United States, the most powerful of all States, should be a servant, a minister, a friend, not a master among the nations Never before in the [illegible] the first order [illegible] humanity a [illegible] politics. As long as he thought this principle was best served by neutrality, we kept out of the war. The long series of diplomatic papers, the patience that endured the [illegible]

[illegible] wal of submarine warfare taught

plications and unaware of the new international position decided for them, in Theodore Roosevelt's words, by fate and the march of events. Even the intellectuals who grasped the truth that the war was [illegible]

no power to confuse his judgment, as his course in Mexico and his Mobile declaration had shown. I have little doubt as to where lay his sympathies from the first hour of the conflict, but he was not the man in a position of vast responsibility to be swayed by sympathy or prejudice or self interest. Rather, he was the man, careless of fleeting judgments, to seek the position of moral responsibility imposed upon the [illegible]

and I find in them an amazing strength and unity. I am not troubled by the inconsistency of his early advocacy of peace and his later proclamation of "force to the limit," for there is no inconsistency.

As Lincoln with supreme wisdom planted his policy not on slavery but on union, Woodrow Wilson with a similar greatness tied his policy to the idea that the United States, the most powerful of all States, should be a servant, a minister, a friend, not a master among the nations Never before in the history of mankind has a statesman of the first order made the humble doctrine of *service to humanity* a cardinal and guiding principle of world politics. As long as he thought this principle was best served by neutrality, we kept out of the war. The long series of diplomatic papers, the patience that endured the [illegible]

him that force alone could advance his doctrine, he took us into war His much derided Notes to the Imperial German Government deserve rank among the enduring documents of international history and constitute one of the most decisive arguments ever addressed to the conscience of civilization, to illustrate the solemn hesitation that ought to mark the course of rulers who carry nations into war, to give proof that in such a collapse of civilization, at least one nation should retain its poise, and to unite his countrymen while he taught the world

When on March 5, 1914, before the war, in discussing the Panama tolls, he said, "We are too big, too powerful, too self respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises, just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please," he made clear all that subsequently possessed his mind When a year later he said "We do not want anything that does not belong to us Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations?" he revealed the heart of his policy and so when, on the memorable night of April 2d, he asked Congress to acknowledge a state of war, it was to a crusade, not to a war, that his statesmanlike policy had brought his countrymen, and they could not doubt that the diplomatic victory was his, the moral victory was his, that a mighty people were behind him, that the leadership of mankind rested where democracy on a continental scale had begun in the American Republic

In December, 1916 the President had sought through a statement by each side of its war aims to discover if any basis of peace might be found This inquiry exhibited diplomatic genius of the first order, for it enraged the Germans and aided the Allies to consolidate their moral position before the world The great achievement was obscured for a moment by a storm of obloquy from superheated patriots who misread the grim humour and misinterpreted his precise language when he declared that all sides, according

to their own general statement to their own people, had the same aims

Again, on January 22, 1917, Mr Wilson for the last time sought mediation in a speech in which he defined the fundamental conditions of a permanent peace No greater state paper than this exists in the records of modern states

The result of this masterstroke was to bring us nearer war but also nearer to lasting peace, to establish him still more closely as the one dispassionate voice of mankind, and again to bring upon him an outburst of condemnation for his noblest pre-war utterance in which he used, but explained none too skillfully, the phrase "peace without victory," by which he meant that only a reconciled Europe could be a tranquil and stable Europe, and that community of power must succeed balance of power

Still preoccupied with the thought of lasting peace, Mr Wilson appeared before the Congress in the early winter of 1918 at the darkest moment of the allied fortunes and formulated fourteen points of peace. These generalizations were almost revolutionary in their scope and idealism and ultimately formed the general basis of the peace to be drafted, but they carried too a political adroitness aiming directly at putting an end to the fighting They planted new seeds of aspiration and new hopes of justice between nations in the minds of men and it is not easy to ostracize such ideas. Its timeliness as well as its strength gives to this document a place among the great charters which have marked the progress of mankind Our other great papers, the Declaration, the Farewell Address Virginia Bill of Rights, the Constitution, were local or continental in their application This paper and the complementary addresses following it, aimed at nothing less than to endow the broken and weary nations with a new order and a new life Desperate peoples for an hour looked into the shining face of Hope and had sight of an old heaven and a new earth rising out of horror but ennobled by the self sacrifice of millions In Burke's

the disinterestedness of its purposes, and the valour

sea amid the roar of guns and shoutings, dropped anchor at Brest, and an American President, for the first time, appeared in Europe to take part in a parlia-

slave of ideas and ideals. It seemed to him that it was his moral responsibility, under God, to go to Europe, heedless of the rocks ahead of him and the whirlpools behind him. It was a fearful responsibility to assume, for all the peace congresses of civilization, from Westphalia and Vienna to Paris, had satisfied nobody and had generally broken their creators. This congress was the gigantic legatee of the failures of all past congresses, and in none of these congresses of the past did any one man, not Talleyrand or Metternich or Disraeli or Bismarck, ever occupy a position of such terrible greatness. I am sure Aristotle's fine summary of tragedy must often have visited his mind as his ship wended her way across the seas

> Tragedy, in its pure idea, shows us a mortal will engaged in an unequal struggle with destiny, whether that destiny be represented by the forces within or

Three underlying ideas and purposes, all born of American daring and American experience, guided his mind and drove him on. The first was faith in the whole kindling length and logic of democracy

itself faith in men faith in the supremacy of spiritual force given new sacredness by what he saw about him of suffering and death The second was the essential democratic idea of the right of men everywhere to determine their own affairs The third was the idea of cooperation of peoples the partnership of opinion among democratic nations which once had welded discordant states in a new world into a Federal Union and might again weld discordant peoples in an old world into a parliament of man

For six months at the Congress of Paris in an alien air surcharged with cynicism and suspicion almost single handed he fought for these principles buoyed and sustained in the first period of his struggle by high tides of hope and faith that surged up to him out of the bruised hearts of peoples who trusted him to lead them over the failure of brute force into God's peace and in the second period buffeted by the ebb tides of fading enthusiasm of disintegrating unity, of selfish dominion and ancient fears

He had gone to Paris with the "fourteen points of peace" accepted alike by his Allies and by the Central Powers as the basis for the coming settlement The "fourteen points" lived in his mind as a doctrine of international justice and the League of Nations was an integral part thereof conceived as the medium to interpret and administer those principles of justice, and to introduce into the relations of modern states the idea of organic international cooperation based on reason No man could have achieved this programme in its entirety or secured a perfect peace of justice at Paris Statesmanship of the most transcendent form could not have diagnosed much less healed that tremendous ailment of the world The Versailles treaty though a huge advance over any one of the five great treaties since Westphalia in sympathy and counsel with the peoples concerned in the redress of bitter wrongs in consideration for the weak and thought of the future proved to be not God's peace It was a peace shot through with the

fear and resentment of suffering and ill used men, a settlement corrupted by previous bargains among the Allied Powers made under the lure of traditional policies and the stern necessities of war and inconsistent with the high purpose of the charter which Wilson had presented for the guidance of the congress [illegible]

[illegible] gration or an imperfect peace with the League of Nations He could not, with his vast sense of political and social institutions postpone by headstrong and wilful conduct the normal and peaceful ordering of men's lives

Woodrow Wilson was not a revolutionist. Political reform by "red ruin and the breaking up of laws" was not in his blood He chose the League of Nations, surrendering in the anguish of compromise, such portions of his doctrine of international justice as he could not get. I am of those who believe that he gained more than he sacrificed at Versailles, and I know that he alone among mortal men could have salvaged out of that sea of passion the League of Nations the bravest and most reasonable effort to rationalize national relations in political history The statement sometimes made that he fell beaten down by the superior adroitness and intelligence of his European colleagues is a piece of analysis entitling [illegible]

[illegible] and accepted only to gain an instrument which he believed had in it power to purge and correct

He had the heart to match the moral hopes of mankind against their passions He sought to give the 20th Century a faith to inspire it and to justify the sacrifice of millions of lives and if there was failure,

in Jan Smuts's words, it was humanity's failure To make him, the one and undaunted advocate of those hopes, the scapegoat of a world collapse is to visit upon him injustice so cruel that it must perish of its own unreason Therefore, I do not envisage Woodrow Wilson as a failure as he came back to these shores bearing in his hands the covenant of the league and the imperfect treaty itself I envisage him rather as a victor and conqueror as he returned to America, unstained by sordidness or dishonour, unsurpassed in moral devotion and offering to his country leadership in the broadest and worthiest cause in all the story of human struggle for a better life What statesman in the history of world adjustment in defence of a code of shining if unattainable idealism had ever borne himself more stoutly or battled with such foes or achieved with so little support at home or abroad, so astounding a result?

When President Wilson first sailed for Europe in December 1918 American sentiment irrespective of party generally approved his declared purpose to incorporate in the treaty of peace some sort of league covenant The heart of the time was then in tune with the age-old dream The President of the United States had a right to assume that the American people were behind him on the issue of the League of Nations notwithstanding the adverse verdict of the electorate on his general policies Eight years before, in 1910 in his Nobel lecture, Theodore Roosevelt himself said

> It would be a master stroke if those great Powers honestly bent on peace would form a league of peace not only to keep the peace among themselves but to prevent by force if necessary its being broken by others The man or statesman who should bring about such a condition would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

A list of eminent Americans of all parties then in line with that pronouncement in 1918 would be an

illuminating contribution to the higher impulses of that era.

When he returned a different spectacle met his eyes The great cause for which he had even then given his life had become confused with a group of political policies given by his enemies the generic name of Wilsonism and about this raged the wrath, despair and hatred of the overstrained time The tired warrior of the common good who had kept the faith fought the fight and won a victory instead of hearing the acclaim of his own people "Well done thou good and faithful servant" saw himself ringed about with foes of mind to rend and destroy him

I cannot give time here to determining whether Wilson himself was to blame in tactical judgment alone or how much he was to blame for the change in American opinion nor do I deny that honest men [illegible]

[illegible] venom" of deadlock and indecision of partisanship and passion in which for weary months this largest question of modern [illegible]

[illegible] in the hearts of his enemies and something more of compromise in his own heart and something more of political genius and firm purpose in the hearts of those who held the faith and there might have been another world!

I have lately been reading and I wish all of his countrymen might one day quietly read, the thirty speeches made by the President on that fateful Western tour which he undertook in September 1919 in order to secure from the American people the stamp of approval which he desired for his work in Europe and which the American Senate was unwilling to give

There is no series of political speeches made under circumstances of such strain in our annals attaining a higher level of oratory and exposition. He was

forewarned as he fared forth that his life might be the forfeit of his enterprise He replied "I would forfeit my life to attain the end I seek" and he meant it for he was incapable of melodramatic pose, and the consecration of that statement runs like a thread of gold through the sustained appeal

Undeterred by the stabbing of physical pain and failing strength Woodrow Wilson here reveals the scope and depth of his conviction that national isolation for America or any country is for ever ended that the outlawry of war is democracy's next great task that suicide hovers over civilization in the present system of the relation of states and the present potentialities of destructive warfare that the hour has struck for the creation of an instrument to gather behind it the organized manhood of the world bent on evolving a clearer international conscience a new international law substituting reason for passion in human affairs and that the covenant of the League of Nations is such an instrument if mankind [illegible] adapt it to its uses This is the Wilsonism [illegible] the quiet justice of humanity will remember [illegible] out the ages But all this force and eloquence [illegible] martyrdom were to avail nothing Woodrow [illegible] fell stricken as if in battle at Pueblo Colorado [illegible]mber 25 1919 and came home shorn of his [illegible]d strength to persuade and move the hearts [illegible]untrymen

The American Senate in the plain discharge of its [illegible]nal duty discussed the treaty for a period [illegible]onths during five months of which period [illegible]nt struggled against mortal illness rejected [illegible] 20th and elected to remain outside the [illegible]zed scheme of international cooperation in [illegible] history

The last words spoken to the people at Pueblo by President were these

> [illegible] the mists of this great question have [illegible] I believe that men will see the truth eye to eye and face to face There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend

then hand to and that is the truth of justice liberty and peace We have accepted that truth and it is going to lead us and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as this world never dreamed of before.

The prophecy of the stricken advocate of reason has not yet come true There are those who hope and believe that it will never come true It is not seemly that I should here attempt any controversial discussion but I should lack the courage of the man I seek to interpret if I did not as an American citizen, cry out even in this chamber God grant that it may come true and gain new authority to protect mankind against its imminent dangers

It is commonly said that the historic rank of Woodrow Wilson is wrapped up in the destiny of the covenant that if it fails his rank will be merely that [illegible]

our poor flesh so foredoomed to the iniquity of earthly oblivion but surely the fame of Woodrow Wilson does not rest upon an instrument the orderly growth of which into final usefulness may so change its structure and modify its form as to cause it to become another and an even better instrument It depends upon an unconquerable idea so greatly conceived and set forth that it must continue to grow and is now growing into new and finer form and his fame must grow with it into whatever bright renown it may attain

Posterity will be eager to have knowledge of the personality and the salient qualities of a statesman set apart to play such a role in the world's affairs I shall picture him as I knew him—not the Wilson whom mankind will remember as the stern war leader of a mighty nation but another Wilson known to me—a Wilson of sprightliness and humour and handsome courtesy of kindly countenance and fas

forewarned as he fared forth that his life might be the forfeit of his enterprise He replied "I would forfeit my life to attain the end I seek" and he meant it for he was incapable of melodramatic pose, and the consecration of that statement runs like a thread of gold through the sustained appeal

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side of the common man and against the privileged and the powerful. Wilson could be, and sometimes was, aloof and unrelenting to this or that friend or foe; but mankind, in the mass, never failed to soften his spirit and awaken his emotions He would have gone to the stake to protect mankind, as a whole, from tyranny and injustice, but the ambitions of any individual man, even a friend, stirred him slightly. His greatest def
ing from him
had proved th
boldly, a strange moral fastidiousness and loyalty to
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of his followers

Wilson evoked no such popular devotion as did Henry Clay or James G Blaine or Theodore Roosevelt. Men of his prophetic quality rarely do Edmund Burke once said of Charles James Fox, with a deep sigh, "He was made to be loved" That sigh often, no doubt, stirred in Woodrow Wilson's heart. He was a selfless man in so far as personal glory or profit was concerned. It was "perfection, not renown" that allured him. It was God's praise, not men's praise, that gave him strength The amb
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ide
tu
[illegible] of Burke or Hamilton or John Marshall, but he had a brain of high order, functioning in a different atmosphere and a broader field, a brain which worked straight and quick, and he suffered ill, fools and those of untidy minds I should call his greatest mental gifts the power to look into the *future*, to assemble facts, to marshal his propositions in due order, to generalize

cinating conversation with power to "beguile you into being informed beyond your worth, and wise beyond your birthright." The sensitive shyness and reserve that clings to men who cannot capitalize their personal advantages to win friends clung to him. Intimacies were sacred relations to his spirit, but these intimacies could not overflow into inveterate *amiability*. *He did not wear his heart on his sleeve* for daws to peck at, but tenderness governed his demeanour with those he trusted, and he wore about him a quiet grace of dignity.

Woodrow Wilson was a deeply religious man. Men who do not understand the religious spirit need not even try to understand him. No man in supreme power in any nation's life, since Gladstone, was so profoundly penetrated by the Christian faith. He was sturdily and mystically Christian. He took God Almighty in earnest as the Supreme Reality, and he carried Him into his home and saw His immanence and guidance in private and public life. He had the habit of prayer, and he read and reread the English Bible. Through all his speeches flamed the glory of an insistent belief that morality and politics should march hand in hand. Many of his tendencies, perhaps the most of them that occasioned debate and censure, sprang from his pragmatic belief in God. There was actually such a thing as God's will to this man, and when he thought he had divined that will, he knew the right, the absolute right, and he was prepared to stand on that, if friends deserted him
or he parted com
or if the blow fel
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great utterances
mediaeval bishop
bludgeon if the
from compromise." "Let's stop being merely practical and find out what's right," were phrases often on his lips.

It was the Christian philosophy at work in his spirit that placed him almost instinctively on the

side of the common man and against the privileged and the powerful Wilson could be, and sometimes was, aloof and unrelenting to this or that friend or foe, but mankind, in the mass, never failed to soften his spirit and awaken his emotions He would have gone to the stake to protect mankind, as a whole, from tyranny and injustice, but the ambitions of any individual man, even a friend, stirred him slightly. His greatest defect as a leader of men was this shrinking from human contacts at close range When he had proved the rightness of his case and stated it [illegible]

[illegible]

of his followers

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fairly, and to state his interpretations with such terseness and soundness that they sank into minds that listened.

As an Executive, he was not an incarnation of action like Napoleon or Roosevelt. The lightning decision was not after his manner, but his industry was tireless, his judgment of men sound, and his mind did its own thinking, and men could not frighten or deceive or cajole him. The possession of a tenacious memory enabled him to keep the whole before him, to dispense with threshing around, and to dread irrelevance and bombast. No dogmatism or abruptness controlled his relations to men who approached his problem from the same angle. He gave his entire trust to those who worked with him, defended them against injustice, and upheld them against slander or misrepresentation.

The world used to be full of people busy in discerning, imagining, and cataloguing the faults of Woodrow Wilson. Dogmatist and hermit, rhetorician and pacifist, egocentric and ingrate, dreamer and drifter were some of the milder coinages of his more civil and restrained enemies. Well, he had his faults. I am not here to portray or to defend his faults. Some of them were protective devices to conserve physical strength, and others lay buried deep in the impulses in his blood, but inhibitions born of pride and courage and high ambition are such as nations learn to forget and to forgive, and even to love and cherish. Posterity is incurious about the minor faults of its heroes. England does not concern itself with the flaws of Nelson and William Pitt. Men do not remember Andrew Jackson's stubbornness and prejudice. They recall only the fury and fire of his purpose to preserve the Federal Union.

His countrymen will not for ever remember the volubility and histrionic arts of Theodore Roosevelt, but they will never let die the memory of the valiant force of him penetrating the Nation's spirit, increasing the sum of its energies, awakening youth to high adventure, and stridently proclaiming the glory of

upright living They do not tattle about Washington's blazing profanity at Monmouth, but see his stately figure riding into the storm of battle beneath the tattered flag of a new nation he would fain bring into the world. They do not whisper about [illegible]

[illegible] even his humility as a sword with which to carve out the victory of his cause And so it will be with Woodrow Wilson in the long perspective of the years. The destiny in his blood decided that he should possess—

> The unconquerable will
> And courage never to submit or yield,
> And what is else not to be overcome

He had the thirst for fame and human remembrance that belongs to all great natures It was not easy for him to forget or to forgive The pride of righteousness sometimes froze the more genial currents of his soul, but he was willing to die, and did die, to guarantee to humble men a fairer chance in a juster world, and therefore the savage assaults of his enemies will shrivel into the [illegible] *Horace* [illegible] or the [illegible] against [illegible] and his [illegible] a repell[illegible] as detractors of greatness or else they will pass out of memory and no one will ask

> Who or what they have been
> More than he asks what waves
> Of the midmost ocean have swelled,
> Foamed for a moment and gone.

The four closing years in the life of Woodrow Wilson were harsh, unheroic, uninspiring years in

shadows, men paused in their busy lives and came to comprehend that a man of great faith had lived in their era, akin in heart and blood to John Milton and John Hampden, Mazzini, and Luther, that a *prophet had guided their* country and stirred the heart of mankind in an hour of destiny, and that an incorruptible liberal aflame with will to advance the slow ascent of man had joined those whom men call immortal and stood among that high fellowship,

Constant as the Northern Star
Of whose true, fixed, and lasting quality,
There is no fellow in the firmament.

WILSON THE EXECUTIVE

By Charles Seymour

In his book entitled, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War* (Yale University Press, 1921) pp. 8-26, Dr. Charles Seymour, President Emeritus of Yale University, has provided a concise analysis of the character and personality of President Wilson. Those pages are reprinted below with the permission of the publishers.

The personality of an American *President has* seldom undergone so much analysis with such unsatisfactory results, almost every discussion of Wilson's characteristics leads to the generation of heat rather than light. Indeed the historian of the future may ask whether it is as important, in this age of democracy, to know exactly what sort of man he was as to know what the people thought he was. And yet in the case of a statesman who was to play a role of supreme importance in the affairs of the country and the world, it is perhaps more than a matter of merely personal interest to underline his salient traits. Let it be premised that *a logical and satisfactory analysis*

is well nigh impossible, for his nature is self-contradictory, subject to gusts of temperament, and he himself has pictured the struggle that has gone on between the impulsive Irish and the cautious Scotch elements in him Thus it is that he has handled similar problems in different ways at different times, and has produced upon different persons diametrically opposed impressions

As an executive, perhaps his most notable characteristic is the will to dominate. This does not mean that he is the egocentric autocrat pictured by his opponents, for in conference he is apt to be tolerant of the opinions of others, by no means dictatorial in manner and apparently anxious to obtain facts on both sides of the argument An unfriendly critic, Mr. E J Dillon has said of him at Paris that "he was a very good listener, an intelligent questioner, and amenable to argument whenever he felt free to give practical effect to his conclusions" *Similar evidence* has been offered by members of his Cabinet But unquestionably, in reaching a conclusion he resents pressure and he permits no one to make up his mind for him he is, said the German Ambassador, "a recluse and lonely worker" One of his enthusiastic admirers has written "Once ... [illegible]

[illegible]

... remarked "Wilson works The rest of us play, comparatively speaking We Europeans can't keep up with a man who travels a straight path with such a

sl ʼows men paused in their busy lives and car to co iprehend that a man of great faith had live ı t r era, akın in heart and blood to John Milto ı l John Hampden, Mazzini and Luther, that ı c pl had guided their country and stirred th l ı ı ı mankind in an hour of destiny and that a ı ı ı ı tible liberal aflame with will to advance th l ı ı ent of man had joined those whom men ca ı ı ı l and stood among that high fellowship

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ı ook entitled *Woodrow Wilson and the* ı (Yale University Press, 1921) pp 8-28 ı ı Seymour President Emeritus of Yale ı has provided a concise analysis of the personality of President Wilson Those ı rinted below with the permission of the ı

The p rs ı ty of an American President has ı ı ı ı e so much analysis with such un ı ı ı ı ı almost every discussion of Wilson s ı ı ı ı ı ds to the generation of heat rather ı ı ı ı ı the historian of the future may ask wh ı ı ı ı s important in this age of democ-r ı ı ı ı ı tly what sort of man he was as to ı ı ı ı ple thought he was And yet in ı ı of ı man who was to play a role of ı ı ı ı ı n the affairs of the country and ı ı ı ı ı ı ps more than a matter of merely ı ı ı ı o underline his salient traits Let it b ı ı ı a logical and satisfactory analysis

main purveyors of facts rather than colleagues in the formation of policies. Wilson has generally been anxious to receive facts which might help him to build his policy, as will be attested by those who worked with him at Paris.[1] But he was less interested in the opinions of his advisers, especially when it came to principles and not details, for he decides principles for himself. In this sense his Cabinet was composed of subordinates rather than counselors. Such an attitude is of course characteristic of most modern [illegible] by war conditions

[illegible]

Clemenceau treated the other French delegates.

General conviction of Wilson's autocratic nature has been intensified by his choice of assistants, who have not as a rule enjoyed public confidence. He debarred [illegible]

share his point of view. It is more epigrammatic than exact to say that he was the sole unit in the Government giving value to a row of ciphers, for his Cabinet, as a whole, was not composed of weak men. But the fact that the members of his Cabinet accepted implicitly his firm creed that the Cabinet ought to be an executive and not a political council, that it depended upon the President's policy, and that its main function should be merely to carry that policy into effect, gave to the public some justification for its belief that Wilson's was a "one man" Government. This belief was further intensified by the President's extreme sensitiveness to hostile criticism, which more than anything else hindered frank interchange of opinion between himself and strong personalities. On more than one occasion he seemed to regard opposition as tantamount to personal hostility, an attitude which at times was not entirely unjustified. In the matter of minor appointments Wilson failed generally of success because he consistently refused to take a personal interest, leav-

But he has never been able to capitalize such personal advantages in his political relations Apart from his intimates he is shy and reserved The antithesis of Roosevelt, who loved to meet new individualities, Wilson has the college professor's shrinking from social contacts, and is not at ease in the presence of those with whom he is not familiar Naturally, therefore, he lacks completely Roosevelt's capacity to make friends, and there is in him no trace of his predecessor's power to find exactly the right compliment for the right person Under Roosevelt the White House opened its doors to every one who could bring the President anything of interest whether in the field of science literature politics or sport and the Chief Magistrate no matter who his guest instantly found a common ground for discussion That capacity Wilson did not possess Furthermore his health was precarious and he was physically incapable of carrying the burden of the constant interviews that characterized the life of his immediate predecessors in the presidential office He lived the life of a recluse and rarely received any one but friends of the family at the White House dinner table

While he thus saved himself from the social intercourse which for Roosevelt was a relaxation but which for him would have proved a nervous and physical drain Wilson deprived himself of the political advantages that might have been derived from more extensive hospitality He was unable to influence Congressmen except by reason of his authority as head of the party or nation He lost many a chance of removing political opposition through the personal appeal which is so flattering and effective He seems to have thought that if his policy was right in itself, Congressmen ought to vote for it, without the satisfaction of personal arguments, a singular misappreciation of human nature The same was true of his relations with the Washington correspondents he was never able to establish a man to man basis of intercourse This incapacity in the vital matter of human contacts was perhaps his greatest political weakness If he

war in April, 1917, the country entered the struggle practically a unit.

But it is obvious that, however much political strength was assured the President by his instinctive appreciation of popular feeling, this was largely offset by the *gaucherie* of his political tactics. He had a genius for alienating persons who should have sup-
[illegible] general with the broad

larity resulted from misunderstanding, from the feeling that he was a different sort, perhaps a "highbrow," the degree of dislike felt for him becomes almost inexplicable in the case of a President who from all the evidence was willing to sacrifice everything for what he considered to be the benefit of the common man. He might almost repeat Robespierre's final bitter and puzzled phrase: "To die for the people and to be abhorred by them." So keen was the irritation aroused by Wilson's methods and personality that many a citizen stated frankly that he preferred to see Wilsonian policies which he approved meet defeat, rather than see them carried to success by Wilson. This executive failing of the President was destined to jeopardize the greatest of his policies and to result in the personal tragedy of Wilson himself.

Certain large political principles stand out in Wilson's writings and career as Governor and President. Of these the most striking perhaps is his conviction that the President of the United States must be something more than a mere executive superintendent. The entire responsibility for the administration of government, he believed, should rest upon the President, and in order to meet that responsibility he must keep the reins of control in his own hands. In his first essays and in his later writings Wilson expressed his disgust with the system of congressional committees which threw enormous power into the hands of irresponsible professional politicians, and called for a President who would break that system and

had been able to arouse warm personal devotion in his followers, if he could have inflamed them with enthusiasm such as that inspired by Roosevelt, rather than mere admiration, Wilson would have found his political task immeasurably lightened It is not surprising that his mistakes in tactics should have been so numerous His isolation and dependence upon tactical advisers, such as Tumulty and Burleson, lacking broad vision, led him into serious errors, most of which—such as his appeal for a Democratic Congress in 1918, his selection of the personnel of the Peace Commission, his refusal to compromise with the "mild reservationist Senators" in the summer of 1919—were committed, significantly, when he was not in immediate contact with Colonel House

The political strength of Wilson did not result primarily from intellectual power His mind is neither profound nor subtle His serious writings are sound but not characterized by originality, nor in his policies is there anything to indicate creative genius He thinks straight and possesses the ability to [illegible] trate on a single line of [illegible] ing an [illegible] with [illegible] phra [illegible] great assistance to him [illegible] real strength of the President lay rather in his gift of sensing what the common people wanted and his ability to put it into words for them Few of his speeches are great, many of them are marred by tactless phrases, such as "too proud to fight" and "peace without victory" But nearly all of them express honestly the desires of the masses His strength in New Jersey and the extraordinary effect produced in Europe by his war speeches might be cited as evidence of this peculiar power He sought above everything to catch the trend of inarticulate rather than vociferous opinion If one objects that his patience under German outrages was not truly representative, we must remember that opinion was slow in crystallizing, that his policy was endorsed by the election of 1916, and that when he finally advocated

said in the council chamber His strongest political weapon, he believes, has been the appeal over the heads of politicians to public opinion His dislike of cliques and his strong prejudice against anything that savors of special privilege shone clear in his attack upon the Princeton club system and the same light has not infrequently dazzled his vision as President. Thus while by no means a radical, he instinctively turned to the support of labor in its struggles with capital because of the abuse of its privilege by capital in the past and regardless of more recent [illegible] labor Similarly at the Peace [illegible]

Such tendencies may [illegible] y the intensity of his religious convictions There have been few men holding high office in recent times so deeply and constantly affected by Christian faith as Woodrow Wilson The son of a clergyman and subjected during his early years to the most lively and devout sort of Presbyterianism he preserved in his own family circle in later years a similar atmosphere Nor was his conviction of the immanence and spiritual guidance of the Deity ever divorced from his professional and public life We can discover in his presidential speeches many indications of his belief that the duties he had undertaken were laid upon him by God and that he might not deviate from what seemed to him the straight and appointed path. There is something reminiscent of Calvin in the stern and unswerving determination not to compromise for the sake of ephemeral advantage Thus aspect of Wilson has been caught by a British critic J M Keynes who describes the President as a Nonconformist minister whose thought and temperament were essentially theological not intellectual "with all the strength and weakness of that manner of thought feeling and expression" The observation is [illegible] completely explain [illegible] ter- [illegible] eate

exercise greater directive authority For a time he seemed under the influence of Bagehot to have believed in the feasibility of introducing something like the parliamentary system into the government of the United States To the last he regarded the President
... Prime Minister at the head of his party
...ture and able to count absolutely upon
...More than this he believed that the
...uld take a large share of responsibility
...ive programme and ought to push this
...rough by all means at his disposal
...appeared in his early writings and was
...into operation during his administra
...him bringing all possible pressure upon
...y Legislature in order to redeem his
...dges When elected President he went
...ongress with his message instead of
...e read Time and again he intervened
...special legislative interests by direct

...writings and in his actions Wilson has
...ed government by party Theoretically
...e he has been opposed to coalition
...r in his belief it divides responsibility
...means an advocate of the old type
...wards for party service seem to him
...usly enough while insisting that the
...leader of his party like a Prime Min
...so described him with an apparent
...the leader of the country Because
...confused party and people it is easy
...he has at times claimed to repre
...en in reality he was merely repre
...ws Such an attitude is naturally
...Opposition and explains something
...t characterized the attacks made
...ps ...d later
...sentiments are tinged by a con
...rest in the common man More
...insisted that it was more important
...said by the fireside than what ...

NOTE

[illegible] Lamont says of the President at Paris "I never saw [illegible] than he [illegible] Presi- [illegible] have a blind spot [illegible] n's was in his inability to use men an inability, mind you, not a refusal. On the contrary, when any of us volunteered or insisted upon taking responsibility off his shoulders he was delighted."

should not expect a man to be easy and affable when he deems himself fighting in a death grapple with the enemies of his country" "Tolerance," he declared in an article written during the same period,

> is an admirable intellectual gift but it is of little worth in politics Politics is a war of causes a joust of principles Government is too serious a matter to admit of meaningless courtesies.

Too much in earnest to be an easy companion or an easy combatant, Wilson nevertheless had a powerful need for affection A deep sense of isolation, a cramped capacity for personal communication, tortured and stunted his emotional life "When I am with anyone in whom I am specially and sincerely interested" he once wrote "the hardest subject for me to broach is just that which is nearest my heart" "It isn't pleasant or convenient to have strong passions" he confided " I have the uncomfortable feeling that I am carrying a volcano about with me My salvation is in being loved There surely never lived a man with whom love was a more critical matter than it is with me!" Wilson was aloof he concealed himself with a habitually drawn curtain of reserve, but he was not, as many have concluded, a cold man. "I have to guard my emotions from painful overflow" he told his first wife And again

> Sometimes I am a bit ashamed of myself when I think how few friends I have amidst a host of acquaintances Plenty of people offer me their friendship but, partly because I am reserved and shy and partly because I am fastidious and have a narrow uncatholic taste in friends I reject the offer in almost every case and then am dismayed to look about and see how few persons in the world stand near me and know me as I am,—in such wise that they can give me sympathy and close support of heart. Perhaps it is because when I give at all I want to give my whole heart, and I feel that so few want it all, or would return measure for measure Am I wrong, do you think, in that feeling? And can one as deeply covet gifts of friendship and close affection as I am afford to act upon such a feeling?

larly impersonal public reputation. Although he [illegible] measure of success before [illegible]

[illegible]

philistine university circles, a British liberal in progressive America, a would-be dispenser of sanity and [illegible] arousing hatreds and [illegible]

[illegible] great powers in success or in failure, the essential isolation of Woodrow Wilson was always preserved.

WOODROW WILSON. THE UNFORGETTABLE FIGURE WHO HAS RETURNED TO HAUNT US

By Gerald W Johnson

The following passage is reprinted with the permission of the publishers from the text accompanying the pictorial sketch of Wilson's life in the volume entitled *Woodrow Wilson—The Unforgettable Figure Who Has Returned to Haunt Us*, prepared by Mr Johnson (with the collaboration of the Editors of Look Magazine) and published by Harper & Brothers, (copyright 1944 by Look Inc) pp 9-10

[illegible]

to [illegible]

de [illegible]

sp [illegible] faults Everyone could see them, and nobody who came close to him could avoid them. He was arrogant. He was bullheaded He was puritanical. He was vengeful. He could be icy and he could be blustering. It is doubtful that he really was, but

[illegible]

A strange personality for a politician, it may seem And yet not so strange for with masses of men Wilson was beautifully articulate, and in public he often got the sense of communion, if not affection, that he missed in private

> I have a sense of power in dealing with men collectively [he wrote in 1884] which I do not feel always in dealing with them singly In the former case the pride of reserve does not stand so much in my way as it does in the latter One feels no sacrifice of pride necessary in courting the favour of an assembly of men such as he would have to make in seeking to please one man

When he finally went into politics signs of public affection pleased him deeply "At last I feel that I have arrived in politics," he told newspapermen in 1912, after making a speech in a small town from the rear platform of his train Pressed for explanation, he replied 'Somebody out there in that crowd waved his arms and yelled 'Hello, Woody' at me!" His personal friends were not given to calling him "Woody". Even in public relations, however, he failed to get the full measure of affection he craved As he wistfully confessed to Tumulty one night in the White House, "I want the people to love me, but I suppose they never will" He could command respect, from some, because they felt in him the embodiment of a cause, he had devotion But love he could not win, and there was something insubstantial about his relationship with the people, something forced, the fact that he strove so consciously to be a democrat is the best evidence that by instinct he was not All his life he carried with him a burning intensity that found no object other than ideas on which to expend itself, and ideas did not satisfy him He said that his salvation was in "being loved," but failed to add "in loving" How he sought to avoid that "sacrifice of pride"! He devoted himself to principles, to humanity in the abstract, not to men in the flesh—and he left behind him a trail of broken friendships and a sing-

reak. No one called him stupid No one said he could be bought or bullied No one accused him of being frivolous or lazy Yet these are the great vices of rulers, flaws that ruin their countries as well as themselves

Elizabeth of England had every one of Wilson's faults except Puritanism and for that she substituted half a dozen others that he never had yet nobody doubts that she was a very great ruler

Was Woodrow Wilson?

It is not a pleasant idea for if he was right, then the rest of us were wrong terribly wrong, and it is part of our credo that a hundred and thirty million Americans can't be wrong Yet that belief has been looking doubtful since December 7 1941 Dead men scattered from the Solomon Islands to Italy suggest that we may have been wrong Fine ships by hundreds shattered and sunk suggest that we may have been wrong Billions upon uncounted billions wrung from our toil mourning in every city and town, in crowded tenements and lonely farmhouses weeping women and prematurely old men "blood and toil and sweat and tears" suggest that we may have been wrong

When events seem to prove that a nation has been wrong that nation like a man in similar circumstances should examine its conscience

he appeared to be self righteous It is doubtful tha he really was, but he appeared to be hypocritical He had a *genius for rubbing men the wrong way* He could—and frequently did—convert former friend and admirers into the bitterest enemies

All Wilson's faults were glaring, and in addition to them he possessed an unusual share of the mon hateful virtues He was frightfully candid He wa utterly truthful in discussing, especially to their faces the faults and flaws of other men He was scrupulously honest in financial affairs and would not waver a hairsbreadth to favor his best friend He was pious and would not tolerate ribaldry in those around him He was learned and impatient with ignorance He had the unhappy faculty of being right in the most irritating way Someone has pointed out that he could make men so furious that they became downright maudlin in their hatred

For years, many—perhaps most—Americans have accepted the explanation that Wilson failed because he made so many enemies that in the end they dragged him down He was people say, the cause of his own defeat, and that's all there was to it

But that was not all If that were all, then Wilson, being down would stay down But he doesn't For the past two years, especially he has haunted our minds like a bad conscience Americans are thinking and talking of Wilson more than they are of some political leaders who consider themselves very much alive, whereas Wilson was buried in the crypt of the Episcopal Cathedral at Washington twenty years ago

So men have begun to examine him again, and they find an interesting thing His faults stuck out, they did not drive in Take the list and examine its items, one by one They are bad enough, but none is proof of any interior rottenness, except, perhaps, hypocrisy and it is not certain that Wilson was hypocritical

On the other hand, the hidden faults that people do not see until too late are missing from that list His bitterest enemy never called Woodrow Wilson

Part II

WILSON — THE STATESMAN

IDEAS AND IDEALS

Letters

The informal and frequently intimate glimpses afforded by letters have always furnished revealing clues to character. Unfortunately there is no edition of the Wilson letters although he was a prolific letter writer. Ray Stannard Baker in his 8 volume *Woodrow Wilson Life and Letters* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1927-1939) quotes from a great many of the letters and in a number of instances reprints complete letters. It is from that source and with the special permission of Mrs. Wilson and the publishers that the following are reprinted with the Baker citations indicated.

The selections which follow cover a wide span in Wilson's life. The early letters are believed to be significant in revealing latent traits which were to become increasingly conspicuous in later years.

Wilson, who had been at the University of Virginia with R. Heath Dabney, later Professor Dabney and Dean of the Department of Graduate Studies at Virginia, maintained a steady correspondence with Dabney throughout his lifetime. In 1883 Wilson discloses in the following letter that he finds it necessary to give up the practice of law in Atlanta to undertake graduate study at Johns Hopkins University. (This letter appears in Baker, I, 154-156.)

Incidentally a minor error has been noted in Baker, I, 114, where the learned biographer states that Wilson was in the Law School with William Cabell Bruce, R. Heath Dabney, William Echols, Jr., Richard E. Byrd, LeRoy Percy, and John Bassett Moore. Mr. Baker undoubtedly meant to say that Wilson was a colleague of these men at the University. Of the group listed beside Wilson, only William Cabell Bruce and LeRoy Percy were matriculated in the Law School.

The Law is indeed a hard task master. I am struggling, hopefully but with not over much courage, through its intricacies, and am swallowing the vast mass of its technicalities with as good a grace and as straight a face as an offended palate will allow. I have, of course no idea of abandoning this study because of its few unpleasant features Anyone would prove himself a fool, to be sincerely pitied by all wise men, who should expect to find any work that is worth doing easily done, accomplished without pain or worry; who should turn away from hard study to pursue disappointment in some other direction. Still one may be permitted an occasional complaint, if for no other purpose than to relieve his feelings (December 31, 1879 Baker, I, 118)

. . . those indistinct plans of which we used to talk grow on me daily, until a sort of calm confidence of great things to be accomplished has come over me which [illegible] tell wh[illegible] are va[illegible] will be [illegible] power to act up to (May 20, 1880; Baker, I, 118)

The prof[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible])

In 1883 as an ambitious young post graduate student at Johns Hopkins University Wilson was contemplating an expansion of his article "Cabinet Government in the United States" which had appeared in the International Review in August 1879. This had set him on the road toward his most immediate goal—to study and write about practical politics. In the letter below written to Ellen Axson on October 30 Wilson explains his undertaking at the University. Baker quotes these passages separately, hence the citation follows each selection.

The word "covenant" is intimately associated with

The Law is indeed a hard task-master. I am struggling, hopefully but with not *over* much courage, through its intricacies, and am swallowing the vast mass of its technicalities with as good a grace and as straight a face as an offended palate will allow. I have, of course no idea of abandoning *this study* because of its few unpleasant features. *Anyone would* prove himself a fool to be sincerely pitied by all wise men, who should expect to find any work that is worth doing easily done, accomplished without pain or worry, who should turn away from hard study to pursue disappointment in some other direction. Still *one* may be permitted an occasional complaint, if for no other purpose than to relieve his feelings. (December 31, 1879, Baker I, 116.)

those indistinct plans of which we used to talk grow on me daily, until a sort of calm confidence of great things to be accomplished has come over me which I am puzzled to analyse the nature of. I can't tell whether it is a mere figment of my own inordinate vanity, or a deep-rooted determination which it will be within my power to act up to. (May 20, 1880; Baker I, 118.)

The profession I chose was politics; the profession I entered was the law. I entered the *one* because I thought it would lead to the other. It was once the sure road; and Congress is still full of lawyers. (October 30, 1883; Baker I, 109.)

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The word "[illegible]mant" is intimately associated with

ber of cards found among his papers. William Allen White in his biography, p. 89, quotes Wilson writing sometime after the date of the letter below to his friend Robert Bridges to the effect that he needed a trademark to sell his literary wares, that "Thomas W. Wilson lacks something. Woodrow Wilson sticks in the mind." (The letter to Talcott appears in Baker I, 110-111.)

Wilmington, N. C., July 7th '79

Dear Charlie:

I expect you thought it a little queer that I did not some time during Commencement speak to you *definitely* upon the subject which had principally engrossed our thoughts in the correspondence which followed upon your early graduation. I had promised myself an opportunity of doing so when you should return—and yet I didn't. Well, the long and short of the explanation is *embarrassment*. When I am with anyone in whom I am specially and sincerely interested, the hardest subject for me to broach is just that which is nearest my heart. An unfortunate disposition indeed! I hope to overcome it in time. I can at least speak plainly in writing. I have not yet hit upon any definite plans for the work we propose ourselves, except that we should, I think, lose no opportunity offered us by leisure moments to improve ourselves in *style* and *knowledge*, should leave nothing undone to keep ourselves fresh from the prejudices and free from foolish inaccuracies of those with whom we will constantly be thrown by the necessities of our law practice, in order that when the time comes for us to write and work for a cause we may be able to command a hearing and may be strong for the struggle which it is to be hoped will raise us above the *pettinesses* of our profession. In my daily efforts at composition and the preparation of my voice for public speaking I try to keep these things in view. I am thus able to give such exercises more dignity and a thousand times more interest. Without some such definite aim I could not endure them. Write me what

you think I speak thus freely to you because you know me well enough to credit me with sincerity and acquit me of affectation—or mere talk which amounts to the same thing in essence

Your sincere friend

THOS W WILSON

Wilson's doctor's thesis *Congressional Government* was published in January 1885 As Baker says "He feels now that he is really beginning to carry out the terms of his solemn covenant with Charles Talcott, and yet he is strangely not satisfied" Apparently Ellen Axson seeks to know the reason for his despair and Wilson writes to her as follows on February 24 (Baker I 227 230

Yes there is and has long been in my mind a "lurking sense of disappointment and *loss* as if I had missed from my life something upon which both my gifts and inclinations gave me a claim" I do feel a very real regret that I have been shut out from my heart's *first*—primary—ambition and purpose which was, to take an active if possible a leading, part in public life and strike out for myself if I had the ability a *statesman's* career That is my heart's—or, rather my *mind's*—deepest secret But don't mistake the feeling for more than it is It is nothing *more* than a regret and the more I study the conditions of public service in this country the less *personal* does the regret become My disappointment is in the fact that there is no room for such a career in this country for *anybody* rather than in the fact that there is no chance for *me* Had I had independent means of support even of the most modest proportions I should doubtless have sought an entrance into politics *anyhow* and have tried to fight my way to predominant influence even amidst the hurly burly and helter-skelter of Congress I have a strong instinct of leadership an unmistakably oratorical temperament, and the keenest possible delight in affairs and it has re-

the country stands in such pressing need of,—and I ... that we should have a hand in forming ... and sin- ... distinctly, and boldly uttered by ... of their ground The power of men like Henry George seems to me to mean that and why should not men who have sane purposes avail themselves of this thirst & enthusiasm for better higher more hopeful purpose in politics than either of the present, moribund parties can give?

Your sincere friend
WOODROW WILSON

... father was written while ...

referred to is his younger brother Joseph

---

106 High Street Middletown, Ct.
16 December 1888

MY PRECIOUS FATHER

My thoughts are full of you and dear Dode' all the time Tennessee seems so far away for a chap as hungry as I am for a sight of the two men whom I love As the Christmas recess approaches I realize, as I have so often before the pain there is in a season of holidays and rejoicing away from you As you know one of the chief things about which I feel most warranted in rejoicing is that I am your son I realize the benefit of being your son more and more as my talents and experience grow I recognize the strength growing in me as of the nature of your strength I become more and more conscious of the hereditary wealth I possess the capital of principle of literary force and skill of capacity of first hand thought, and I feel daily more and more bent toward creating in my own children that combined respect and tender devotion for their father that you gave your children

for you. Oh, how happy I should be, if I could make them think of me as I think of you! You have given me a love that grows, that is stronger in me now that I am a man than it was when I was a boy, and which will be stronger in me when I am an old man than it is now—a love, in brief, that is rooted and grounded in *reason*, and not in filial instinct merely—a love resting upon abiding foundations of *service*, recognizing you as in a certain very real sense the author of all I have to be grateful for. I bless God for my noble, strong and saintly mother and for my incomparable father. Ask Dode if he does not subscribe? And tell him that I love my brother passionately.

We have had about three months of continuously bad weather here and are proportionately under the weather with various forms and degrees of cold, but fine cold days have come at last and we are one and all getting on our feet again. We'll get used to this villainous climate by and by, doubtless. I have been wondering whether the Burney House is snug and dry in winter. I sincerely hope the rigors of the Clarksville weather may not get at you in it. We are expecting Ellie's cousin, Mary Hoyt, to come up from Bryn Mawr to spend the holidays with us. Ellie joins me in unbounded love to you both.

Your devoted son,
WOODROW

The following letter was written to David B. Jones, of Chicago, on September 2, 1910, just as Wilson's campaign for Governor of New Jersey was getting under way. Jones, a trustee of Princeton University, had been one of Wilson's best friends and a loyal supporter and, anticipating that the campaign would be an expensive undertaking for a college professor and president who had not been able to lay aside any money, had sent Wilson a check. This was Wilson's reply and is quoted in Baker, III, 64-65.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have been overwhelmed with letters that were very encouraging to receive but that did not matter. Yours does matter, and I have

DARLING JESSIE, 14 March, 1915

am ashamed of myself when I think I have been long acknowledging the dear letter from you that de me so happy, and touched me so deeply You not know, I fear what it meant to me to have you that I had in some sort taken your incomparable ther's place when you were here! Ah! how little I ew how! and how impossible it was to do more than t let you feel as well as I knew how the infinite derness I felt and the longing that was at my art to make up for what can never be made up for her to you my sweet daughter nor to me nor to yone who ever had a chance to know how sweet d loving and infinitely rewarding she was I can- ot yet trust myself to speak much of her even in thing My heart has somehow been stricken dumb felt so dumb when you were here dear I did not now how to say the things that were in my heart bout you and the baby and all the crowding thoughts hat made my heart ache with its fulness I had to rust you to see them and your dear letter makes me ope that you did I can talk about most things but I always have been helpless about putting into words the things I feel most deeply the things that mean most to me and just now my heart is particularly voiceless But I do love you and yours, my dear, more than words can say and there is added to my love now the mother tenderness which I know the depths and beauties of in her heart She was beyond comparison the deepest truest noblest lover I ever knew or ever heard those who knew the human heart wish for!—It is delightful to hear how well everything goes with you God bless you You will have heard of Mac's operation He has come out of it finely and is doing as well as any one could in the circumstances Nell is here with us of course and as steady and brave as usual Nothing happens to the rest of us except daily crises in foreign affairs

Love beyond measure from us all to you all

Your loving

FATHER.

A famous Wilson communication is the telegram he addressed on September 29, 1916, to Jeremiah A. O'Leary. During the 1916 presidential campaign the Democrats had attempted to attract the support of the hyphenates, but Wilson would not encourage them. When O'Leary, President of an Irish anti-British organization, the American Truth Society, prodded Wilson to state his views publicly, Wilson sent the message reprinted below, recorded in Baker, VI, 290. It was reprinted in *The New York Times* on the following day and left no doubt in anyone's mind that Wilson could speak with a sharp tongue The message assumed greater significance when it appeared in the press along with the revelation of Hughes' negotiations with the German-Americans and Irish-Americans and their plot to defeat Wilson. To O'Leary Wilson wired the following

---

I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me Since you have access to many disloyal Americans and I have not I will ask you to convey this message to them

As the 1916 election approached, Wilson felt that Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican candidate, stood a good chance of winning Realizing the seriousness of the situation which would confront the United States should Hughes be successful and unable to assume office until four months later in March, Wilson addressed the letter reprinted below to Secretary of State Robert Lansing It was Wilson's suggestion that to overcome the difficulties that would face the United States in a world at war, he would ask Lansing to resign and name Hughes his successor. As soon as Hughes could take over the office, Wilson and Vice President Marshall would resign, leaving Hughes free as Secretary of State to succeed to the presidency

Robert Lansing writing in 1935 in his *War Memoirs* pp. 165-166, recalls the circumstances surrounding the delivery of the letter to him the day after the election It was marked "most confidential," to be opened by Lansing only Appraising the significance of this communication, Lansing has this to say "The letter shows very clearly that Woodrow Wilson had first in mind the welfare of the United States and the

yet its new definition would be impossible until March

I feel that it would be my duty to relieve the country of the perils of such a situation at once The course I have in mind is dependent upon the consent and cooperation of the Vice President but if I could gain his consent to the plan I would ask your permission to invite Mr Hughes to become Secretary of State and would then join the Vice President in resigning, and thus open to Mr Hughes the immediate succession to the presidency

All my life long I have advocated some such responsible government for the United States as other constitutional systems afford as of course and as such action on my part would inaugurate at least by example Responsible government means government by those whom the people trust and trust at the time of decision and action The whole country has long perceived without knowing how to remedy, the extreme disadvantage of having to live for four months after a(n) election under a party whose guidance had been rejected at the polls Here is the remedy, at any rate so far as the Executive is concerned In ordinary times it would perhaps not be necessary to apply it But it seems to me that in the existing circumstances it would be imperatively necessary The choice of policy in respect of our foreign relations rests with the Executive No such critical circumstances in regard to our foreign policy have ever before existed It would be my duty to step aside so that there would be no doubt in any quarter how that policy was to be directed towards what objects and by what means I would have no right to risk the peace of the nation by remaining in office after I had lost my authority

I hope and believe that your own judgment will run with mine in this critical matter

Cordially and faithfully Yrs
WOODROW WILSON

P.S I beg that you will regard this as in the

strictest sense confidential until I shall have had an opportunity to discuss it with you in person, should circumstances make it a practical problem of duty

W W

PRINCETON FOR THE NATION'S SERVICE

The Princeton Inaugural which provides evidence of the ideas and ideals of Wilson as educator is reprinted here with the permission of the publishers It appeared in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* III (November 1 1902) 89-98 and it will be found also in Baker, Ray Stannard and William E Dodd (eds) *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (6 vols Harper & Brothers 1925-1927 College and State I 443-461 Citations to selections by Wilson reprinted in this volume are made for the reader's convenience wherever possible to the Congressional Rec[illegible]

[illegible] it is interesting to note that another Alum[illegible]

[illegible] to me

It was this speech delivered on October 25 1902, revealing both the conservative and the liberal that attracted the attention of Walter Hines Page editor of *World's Work* and George Harvey of *Harper's Weekly* the latter of whom was to help launch Wilson on his political career

The editor regrets that due to limitations of space only portions of this address are reprinted here

We are but men of a single generation in the long life of an institution which shall still be young when we are dead but while we live her life is in us

where they are parts of a university and share its spirit and method. They must love learning as well as professional success in order to have their perfect usefulness This is not the verdict of the universities merely but of the professional men themselves, spoken out of hard experience of the facts of business

. . . .

The modern world nowhere shows a closeted profession shut in to a narrow round of technical functions to which no knowledge of the outside world need ever penetrate Whatever our calling, our thoughts must often be afield among men of many kinds, amidst interests as various as the phases of modern life The managing minds of the world, even the efficient working minds of the world, must be [illegible]

. . . .

[illegible] their own methods must be shot through with the impulses of the university

It is this that makes our age and our task so inter- [illegible]

. . . .

ance with the abstract data of science and that the closeted scholar himself should throw his windows open to the four quarters of the world

. .

Learning is not divided Its kingdom and government are centered, unitary, single The processes of instruction which fit a large body of young men to [illegible] th powers released and fit

What we conceive she conceives. In planning for Princeton, moreover, we are planning for the country. The service of institutions of learning is not private, but public. It is plain what the nation needs as its affairs grow more and more complex and its interests begin to touch the ends of the earth. It needs efficient and enlightened men. The universities of the country must take part in supplying them.

American universities serve a free nation whose progress, whose power, whose prosperity, whose happiness, whose integrity depend upon individual initiative and the sound sense and equipment of the rank and file. Their history, moreover, has set them apart to a character and service of their own. They are not mere seminaries of scholars. They never can be. Most of them, the greatest of them and the most distinguished, were first of all great colleges before they became universities; and their task is two-fold: the production of a great body of informed and thoughtful men and the production of a small body of trained [illegible] is one of their functions [illegible] g men up to the places [illegible] of thought and affairs is to be viewed; it is another of their functions to take some men, a little more mature, a little more studious, men self-selected by aptitude and industry, into the quiet libraries and laboratories where the close contacts of study are learned which yield the world new insight into the processes of nature, of reason, and of the human spirit. These two functions are not to be performed separately, but side by side, and are to be informed with one spirit, the spirit of enlightenment, a spirit of learning which is neither superficial nor pedantic, which values life more than it values the mere acquisitions of the mind.

. . . .

Though the university may dispense with professional schools, professional schools may not dispense with the university. Professional schools have nowhere their right atmosphere and association except

where they are parts of a university and share its spirit and method They must love learning as well as professional success in order to have their perfect usefulness This is not the verdict of the universities merely but of the professional men themselves, spoken out of hard experience of the facts of business

The modern world nowhere shows a closeted profession shut in to a narrow round of technical functions to which no knowledge of the outside world need ever penetrate Whatever our calling our thoughts must often be afield among men of many kinds amidst interests as various as the phases of modern life The managing minds of the world, even the efficient working minds of the world must be equipped for a mastery whose chief characteristic is adaptability play an initiative which transcends the bounds of mere technical training Technical schools whose training is not built up on the foundations of a broad and general discipline cannot impart this The stuff they work upon must be prepared for them by processes which produce fibre and elasticity and their own methods must be shot through with the impulses of the university

It is this that makes our age and our task so interesting this complex interdependence and interrelation of all the processes which prepare the mind for effectual service this necessity that the merchant and the financier should have travelled minds the engineer a knowledge of books and men the lawyer a wide view of affairs the physician a familiar acquaintance with the abstract data of science and that the closeted scholar himself should throw his windows open to the four quarters of the world

Learning is not divided Its kingdom and government are centered unitary single The processes of instruction which fit a large body of young men to serve their generation with powers released and fit

What we conceive she conceives. In planning for Princeton, moreover, we are planning for the country. The service of institutions of learning is not private, but public. It is plain what the nation needs as its affairs grow more and more complex and its interests begin to touch the ends of the earth. It needs efficient and enlightened men The universities of the country must take part in supplying them

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Though the university may dispense with professional schools, professional schools may not dispense with the university Professional schools have nowhere their right atmosp

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No task, rightly done, is truly private It is part of the world's work The subtle and yet universal connections of things are what the truly educated man, be he man of science man of letters, or statesman, must keep always in his thought if he would fit his work to the work of the world His adjustment is as important as his energy

We mean so soon as our generous friends have arranged their private finances in such a way as to enable them to release for our use enough money for the purpose to build a notable graduate college I say "build" because it will be not only a body of teachers and students but also a college of residence, where men shall live together in the close and wholesome comradeships of learning We shall build it, not apart, but as nearly as may be at the very heart, the geographical heart of the university and its comradeship shall be for young men and old for the novice as well as for the graduate It will constitute but a single term in the scheme of coordination which is our ideal. The windows of the graduate college must open straight upon the walks and quadrangles and lecture halls of the studium generale

And there are other things besides mere material success with which we must supply our generation It must be supplied with men who care more for principles than for money for the right adjustments of life than for the gross accumulations of profit. The problems that call for sober thoughtfulness and mere devotion are as pressing as those which call for practical efficiency We are here not merely to release the faculties of men for their own use but also to quicken their social understanding instruct their consciences, and give them the catholic vision of those who know their just relations to their fellow men Here in America for every man touched with nobility, for every man touched with the spirit of our institutions,

for great tasks ought also to serve as the initial pro-
cesses by which scholars and investigators are made

We must not lose sight of that fine conception o
a general training which led our fathers in the day
when men knew how to build great states to buil
great colleges also to sustain them No man wh
knows the world has ever supposed that a day would
come when every young man would seek a college
training The college is not for the majority who
carry forward the common labor of the world, not
even for those who seek the skill of handicraft
which multiply the conveniences and the luxuries of
the complex modern life It is for the minority who
plan who conceive who superintend who mediate
between group and group and must see the wide
stage as a whole Democratic nations must be served
in this wise no less than those whose leaders are
chosen by birth and privilege and the college is no
less democratic because it is for those who play a
special part I know that there are men of genius
who play these parts without systematic training and yet have never
been in the classroom whose only school
has been the world itself The world is an excellent
school for those who have vision and self discipline
enough to use it It works in this way in part upon
us all How lads are made men of by the mere sweep
of their lives through the various schools of experi
ence It is this very sweep of life that we wish to
bring to the consciousness of young men by the
shorter processes of the college

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social *service is the high law of duty*, and every American university must square its standards by that law or lack its national title It is serving the nation [illegible] training, [illegible] thorough [illegible] of exact [illegible] carry the truth forward from generation to generation and give *the certain touch of knowledge to the processes of* life.

. . . .

It is true that in order to learn men must for a little while withdraw from action, must seek some quiet place of remove from the bustle of affairs, where their thoughts may run clear and tranquil, and the heats of *business be for the time put off*, but that cloistered refuge is no place to dream in It is a place for the first conspectus of the mind, for a thoughtful poring upon the map of life, and the boundaries which should emerge to the mind's eye are not more the intellectual than the moral boundaries of thought and action I do not see how any university can afford such an outlook if its teachings be not informed with the spirit of religion and that the religion of Christ, and with the energy of a positive faith The argument for efficiency in education can have no permanent validity if the efficiency sought be not moral as well as intellectual The ages of strong and definite moral impulse have been the ages of achievement, and the moral impulses which have lifted highest have come from Christian peoples —the moving history of our own nation were proof enough of that. Moral efficiency is, in the last analysis, the fundamental argument for liberal culture

. . . .

I have studied the history of America I have seen her grow great in the paths of liberty and of progress by following after great ideals Every concrete thing that she has done has seemed to rise out of some

will also be Democratic. The offices of President d Vice-President have been put into the hands of emocrats What does the change mean? That is e question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. hat is the question I am going to try to answer, in rder, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a arty The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long *believed* in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also very great, in its moral force

Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate

to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits an industrial system which take it on all its sides financial as well as administrative holds capital in leading strings restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country, a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs watercourses undeveloped waste places unreclaimed, forests untended fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal unregarded waste heaps at every mine We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either

life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance

which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know ou
a task whicl
whether w
need of our people whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action

This is not a day of triumph it is a day of dedication Here muster not the forces of party but the forces of humanity Men's hearts wait upon us, men's lives hang in the balance men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do *Who shall live up* to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men all patriotic all forward looking men, to my side God helping me I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

WILSON ACCEPTS HIS RENOMINATION

as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be o[illegible]

and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency the disposal of active business has been rendered astic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of vestment securities, but from the liquid assets of ily trade, and these assets are assessed and accepted not by distant groups of bankers in control unavailable reserves but by bankers at the many nters of local exchange who are in touch with local nditions everywhere

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creaon of an American merchant marine and the revival f the American carrying trade indispensable to our mancipation from the control which foreigners have o long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, nd the methods of our commerce with other counries

The Interstate Commerce Commission has been reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created extended and improved the service of the parcels post

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act They now have the standing
market We hav
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ing of grains B
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By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities but from the liquid assets of daily trade and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries

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For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act They now have the standing of other business men in the money market We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains By an intelligent Warehouse Act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

FOREIGN POLICY – THE NEW HOPE

Wilson had said to a friend shortly before his inauguration as President of the United States It would be the irony of fate if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs Baker Ray S., *Woodrow Wilson Life and Letters* (8 vols Doubleday Doran & Co 193[illegible] 1939 IV 55 In his campaign addresses Wilson had hardly mentioned foreign affairs and [illegible] first inaugural had dealt altogether with domestic problems The irony was that from the first week of his administration when problems arose in Mexico [illegible] confronting him with the necessity of formulating [illegible] with regard to Latin America, Wilson found [illegible] increasing and predominating challenge in foreign affairs [illegible] ultimately leading the United States [illegible] convinced in his own mind finally that [illegible] was necessary to give new hope to the [illegible] Wilson by his eloquent expression [illegible] aroused the American people to [illegible]

[illegible] writings and addresses by Wilson [illegible] foreign policy are set out under [illegible] Missionary Diplomacy" (2 World War [illegible] 3) The Aftermath of War

tinue to seek their share of the loan under the posed agreements only if expressly requested to so by the government The administration has lined to make such request because it did not rove the conditions of the loan or the implications responsibility on its own part which it was plainly l would be involved in the request

The conditions of the loan seem to us to touch very rly the administrative independence of China itself, l this administration does not feel that it ought, en by implication to be a party to those conditions e responsibility on its part which would be implied requesting the bankers to undertake the loan might nceivably go to the length in some unhappy con gency of forcible interference in the financial and en the political affairs of that great oriental state, st now awakening to a consciousness of its power d *its obligations* to its people The conditions in ude not only the pledging of particular taxes some f them antiquated and burdensome *to secure the* an but also the administration of those taxes by oreign agents The responsibility on the part of our overnment implied in the encouragement of a loan thus secured and administered is plain enough and s obnoxious to the principles upon which the govern ment of our people rests

The Government of the United States is not only willing but *earnestly desirous* of aiding the great Chinese people in every way that is consistent with their untrammeled development and its own immemorial principles The awakening of the people of China to a consciousness of *their* possibilities under free government is the most significant if not the most momentous event of our generation With this movement and aspiration the American people are in profound sympathy They certainly wish to participate, and participate very generously in opening to the Chinese and to the use of the world the almost touched

which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable

In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal concluded on November 18 1901 But I have not come to urge upon you my personal views I have come to state to you a fact and a situation Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure its meaning is not debated outside the United States Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal We consented to the treaty its language we accepted if we did not originate it, and we are too big too powerful too self respecting a nation to interpret with a too strained or refined reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation

I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in

trade relationships between this country and the Chinese Republic This is the main material interest of its citizens in the development of China. Our interests are those of the open door—a door of friendship and mutual advantage This is the only door we care to enter

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

By the Panama Canal Act passed in August 1912 Congress exempted ships engaged in coastwise trade of the United States from payment of canal tolls Great Britain protested the exemption declaring that it was in effect a violation of the Hay Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 which proclaimed equal rates for all nations *In his address to a joint session of Congress* delivered on March 5 1914 (reprinted from 51 *Congressional Record 4313* (1914) the *Public Papers* The New Democracy I 92 93) Wilson although he *had approved exemption in his 1912 campaign having* become convinced that the national honor required *it asked Congress to repeal the Act Congress ac*ceded Wilson s victory in this instance received *wide acclaim at home and abroad and strengthened* the position of the United States internationally *Wilson had made it clear that he stood for honor* and fair dealing

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GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS

I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which *I state it No communication* I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far reaching implications as to the interest of the country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree by the Constitution *itself, with personal responsibility*

I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912,

military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences, and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way I know that this is hard for some persons to understand, but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand It is hard doctrine only for those who

wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico There are men and noble women too not a few of our own people thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning, until the [illegible] enslaved people has had its [illegible] of struggle towards the light I have heard no one wh[illegible] as free from such influence propose interf[illegible] the United States with the internal aff[illegible] Mexico Certa[illegible] no friend of the Mex[illegible] can peopl[illegible] proposed [illegible]

The [illegible] States are capable of great [illegible] dealing with proble[illegible] spokesman and represe[illegible] the sp[illegible]t they would wish [illegible] Mex[illegible] re striving for [illegible] and happi[illegible]ness [illegible] o[illegible]erburdened wom[illegible] al bondage in the[illegible] [illegible]haustible treasur[illegible] the [illegible]olution may often [illegible] selfish, but th[illegible] is right

Administration within three weeks after I assumed the presidency I here again vow it I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business but not in purpose or object

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people All America looks on Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbours We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere This is the day of our test whether we mean or have ever meant to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding and cordial cooperation Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

The future the immediate future will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over They will be new problems, most of them, many will be old problems

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, *generously and without too much* thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this. We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration *for the essential rights of men.*

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the *trade and industry which are to sustain* and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the *Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and* of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to coordinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation *of the law. In the new Tariff Commission* we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be *immediately* serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of *legal restraint,* and the *Tariff Commission* ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have *for some* time had *the advantage of* working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created *in* 1912. *The Tariff Commission completes* the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open

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it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation founded for the benefit of humanity should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great government You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal to a great body of principles to a great hope of the human race You have said "We are going to America not only to earn a living not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave knowing that whatever the speech there is but *one* longing and utterance of the human heart and that is for liberty and justice" And while you bring all countries with you you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups America does not consist of groups A man who thinks of himself as [illegible] cular national group in America

do what is honest and disinterested and truly servi able for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves t restraints which will bring to our people the ha piness and the great and lasting influence for pea we covet for them?

"TOO PROUD TO FIGHT" SPEECH

President Wilson delivered this address in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915 as a part of the naturalization ceremonies held for several thousand foreign born individuals who had applied for citizenship

Magnifying the significance of the unfortunate phrase by headlining the speech under this caption, the press thereby captured the attention of those whose tempers were already emotionally inflamed over the sinking of the *Lusitania* only three days earlier As a result sharp criticism and sneers were widespread and the cartoonists depicting a President who had to be "kicked" into war enjoyed a heyday Actually, Wilson had said as he was to announce even more emphatically in the future—and as he inferred elsewhere in this same address—that there was something far greater than fighting to be undertaken He was still hopeful that war might be avoided This address appears in the *Public Papers*, The New Democracy, I, 318 322

It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception, but it is not of myself that I wish to think to-night, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands And so by the gift of the free will of independent people

Democracy, I, 384-392), and the other to Congress when he delivered his annual message in December (53 Congressional Record 95-100 (1915), the *Public Papers: The New Democracy* I, 406-428). Congressional leaders were fearful that the submarine situation would bring war with Germany and introduced the Gore-McLemore resolutions in both Houses of Congress.

through, would weaken the strength of his position against Germany and his efforts in behalf of human rights. Hence the letter addressed to *Stone*. When the vote on the resolutions was taken the result was clearly a victory for the President. Significantly

of these resolutions. The defeat of the resolutions pointed up the strength of the President both as head of his party and spokesman for foreign policy. It is interesting to note too that when the President asked Congress a year later to declare war he based his request on the position he outlined in this letter.

February 24, 1916

My Dear Senator:

I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter letter of to-day, and I feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious *months* I have striven for that object amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been *apparent upon* the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future *with* regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so

the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere, we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens, I could not decline the invitation I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling what you have so generously given me—the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO TRAVEL IN TIME OF WAR

of the things that have made America a sovereign nation She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world

I am speaking my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office and as your sincere and devoted friend If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation

Faithfully yours
WOODROW WILSON

HON WILLIAM J STONE
United States Senate

THE SUSSEX AFFAIR

President Wilson in this address (reprinted here from 53 *Congressional Record* 6443-6443 (1916) the *Public Papers The New Democracy* II 153 159) delivered before a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress on April 19 1916 restates largely the content of the ultimatum which he incorporated in his [illegible] f the preceding day dispatched to the C [illegible] as a result of their torpedoing [illegible] d French [illegible]

[illegible] submarine [illegible] one of the most serious crises that occurred during the period of American neutrality [illegible] Wilson declared [illegible] Ameri[illegible]

manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I, for one, feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part, I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen even amidst the turmoil of war for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle, the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence

of the things that have made America a sovereign nation She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office and as your sincere and devoted friend If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation

Faithfully yours
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HON WILLIAM J STONE
United States Senate

THE SUSSEX AFFAIR

President Wilson in this address (reprinted here from 53 *Congressional Record* 6418-6419 (1916) the *Public Papers The New Democracy* II 153-159) delivered before a J[illegible]t Sess[illegible]n of the Two Houses of Congress on April 19 1916 restates largely the contents of the ultimat[illegible]m which he incorporated in his [illegible] the preceding day dispatched to the Germa[illegible] Government as a result of their torpedoing late in Mar[illegible]h without warning the unarmed French cross[illegible] [illegible]el ferry the Sussex A large number of passe[illegible]rs and crew were killed Although a few Americ[illegible]ns were in[illegible]red it was not learned until much l[illegible]ter th[illegible]t no American lives were lost Germany in th[illegible] [illegible] to keep her promise after previous subm[illegible] [illegible] h[illegible] produced one of the most severe [illegible] [illegible] during the period of American ne[illegible] Aft[illegible] [illegible]derable deliberation Wilson de clared [illegible] the April 19 note (which appears in the Ameri[illegible] Journal of *International Law* [illegible] Special S[illegible] [illegible] October 1916 188-190 and in the *Public Pa[illegible]* The New Democracy, II 147-152) stopping just sh[illegible]rt of sev[illegible]ring relations that unless the Germans [illegible]eased unrestricted submarine warfare the United States would be forced to break diplomatic relations It was the pledge from Germany forth-

tain or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity

. . .

ceeded to carry out the policy it had announced It expressed the hope that the dangers involved at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders and assured the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants

What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified those assurances insusceptible of being fulfilled In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government in despite of the solemn protest of this Government the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity not only upon the high sea surrounding Great Britain and Ireland but wherever they could encounter them in a way that has grown more and more ruthless more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by less and less observant of restraints of any kind and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand Vessels of neutral ownership even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to